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FBIS-SOV-89-148 CONTENTS *3 August 1989*

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

- Bogachev Reviews ‘Brussels Compromise’ *[TASS]* 1
- Comparison of TASS Interview With Yazov *[PRAVDA 1 Aug]* 1
- Karpov Discusses Nuclear Arms Detection *[Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER 21 Jul]* 1
- Silin Praises Warsaw Pact Peace Initiatives *[Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT 1 Aug]* 3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

- KGB’s Kryuchkov Urges Intelligence Cooperation *[TASS]* 4
- Group of Seven Stance on USSR, China Assessed *[Mulatov on Moscow International]* 4

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

- U.S. Policy Said To Blame for Hostage Crisis *[TASS]* 5
- U.S. Flagship Changes Course to Mediterranean *[TASS]* 5
- Akhromeyev Interviewed on U.S. Visit *[TASS]* 5
- Shevardnadze Receives U.S. Ambassador *[TASS]* 6
- Petrovskiy, U.S. Aide Bolton Confer 27 Jul *[IZVESTIYA 29 Jul]* 6

China

- Chinese Stance at Paris Meeting ‘Constructive’ *[Alekseyev on Moscow International]* 6

Northeast Asia

- Japanese Official’s Remark on Soviet Threat Refuted *[Moscow International]* 7
- Anniversary of Kuril Islands Landing Discussed *[Moscow TV]* 7
- Nikonov, Others See Off Mongolia’s Batmonh *[Moscow Radio]* 8

Southeast Asia & Pacific

- Plenary Sessions of Cambodia Conference End *[TASS]* 8
  - First Phase of Conference Viewed *[Alekseyev on Moscow International]* 8
- Toxic Waste Disposal in Southeast Asia Noted *[(Rasiliev) on Moscow International]* 8

Near East & South Asia

- Katushev Leads Delegation to Libya 2 Aug *[TASS]* 9
- Explosions Damage Soviet Consular Office in Beirut *[Moscow TV]* 9
- Higgins Death, Regional Conflict Linked *[Mayorov on Moscow International]* 10
- Shevardnadze’s Iran Visit Linked to Security Issues *[Zlatorunskiy on Moscow International]* 10
- Soviet-Iranian Relations Reviewed *[Moscow International]* 11
- Kornilov Denies USSR-Iran Ties Pose ‘Threat’ *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Jul]* 11
- Commentary Discusses U.S. ‘Intervention’ in Iran *[Sheftunov on Moscow International]* 12
- Afghanistan’s Mangal Interviewed on Soviet Aid *[TASS]* 12
- Talks on Soviet POWs in Afghanistan Continue 13
  - Zapertov Assesses U.S. Talks *[TASS]* 13
  - Efforts To Release POW’s Discussed *[IZVESTIYA 27 Jul]* 13
  - Delegation Returns From Kabul *[TASS]* 14
  - U.S. Talks on POWs ‘Constructive’ *[PRAVDA 23 Jul]* 15
- Kabul Defenses for Opposition Approach Reported *[PRAVDA 2 Aug]* 15

- Afghan Situation Unchanged; Rebels in Disarray *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jul]* 16
- Missile Attacks Increase Amid Rebel Infighting *[PRAVDA 27 Jul]* 16
- Afghan Mujahidin Military Victory 'Unrealistic' *[IZVESTIYA 26 Jul]* 17
- Envoy Visits Syria, Iraq to Discuss Lebanon *[Kuwait AL-SIYASAH 27-28 Jul]* 18
- Kuwaiti Military Delegation Arrives in Moscow *[Kuwait KUNA]* 18
- Moiseyev Meets Gen Kochetov Back From Kuwait *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Jul]* 18
- Kuwait Cultural Official Ends USSR Visit *[TASS]* 18
- Pakistani Envoy Cited on Asian-Pacific Talks *[Moscow Radio]* 18
- India-Pakistan Post-Summit Relations Discussed *[Skosyrev in IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* 19
- Ryzhkov Receives Outgoing Indian Envoy *[Moscow Radio]* 19
- Primakov Receives Outgoing Iraqi Ambassador *[TASS]* 20

East Europe

- Reportage on Gorbachev-Miodowicz Talks *[TASS]* 20
  - PAP Reports Talks *[Warsaw PAP]* 20
- Poland's Kiszczak Interviewed After Elections *[Moscow TV]* 21
- Council of Ministers Greets Polish Premier *[PRAVDA 3 Aug]* 21
- Gorbachev Congratulates Rakowski on Election *[PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 21
- PZPR Politburo Discusses Food Market Prices *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 27 Jul]* 22
- More MSZMP Officials Quit Party *[PRAVDA 26 Jul]* 22
- Romanian Naval Training Ship Visits Sevastopol *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 22

West Europe

- FRG Consulate Opens in Kiev 1 Aug *[TASS]* 22
  - IZVESTIYA Notes New Consulate *[21 Jul]* 23
- Prussians Ask Gorbachev To Open Kaliningrad *[Hamburg DIE WELT 2 Aug]* 23
- Soviet-British Relations Viewed as 'Realistic' *[TASS]* 23
- Rogachev Receives French Ambassador 20 Jul *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* 24
- Supreme Soviet Receives French Senators *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jul]* 24

Latin America & Caribbean

- Government Greets Cuba's Castro on National Day *[PRAVDA 26 July]* 24
- Communist Party of Chile Releases Declaration *[Moscow Radio Magallanes]* 25

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

- Foreign Ministry Condemns Higgins Execution *[TASS]* 26
- Supreme Soviet 2 Aug Proceedings Highlighted 26
  - Trade Union Leader Gives Speech *[Moscow TV]* 26
  - Debate on Draft Strike Law Continues *[TASS]* 28
  - Deputies Endorse Draft Strike Law *[TASS]* 29
  - Resolution on Draft Strike Law Published *[PRAVDA 3 Aug]* 29
  - Cooperative Taxing Decree Endorsed *[TASS]* 29
  - Draft on Deputies' Activity Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 30
  - Pay for Deputies Debated *[TASS]* 30
  - Deputies Cited on Work *[Zorin on Moscow Radio]* 31
- 1 Aug Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported 32
  - Benefits, Pensions Discussed *[Moscow TV]* 32
  - Gorbachev's Foreign Visits Approved *[Moscow TV]* 33
  - Veteran Benefits Debated *[Moscow TV]* 34
- 31 Jul Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Aug]* 34
- Yeltsin Interviewed on Housing, Opposition *[TRUD 1 Aug]* 39
- Yeltsin Cited on Interregional Group Aims *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 42
- Deputies Give Opinions on Interregional Group *[TASS]* 43
- Justice Minister Assesses Draft Strike Law *[Moscow TV]* 43
- Trade Union Chief Interviewed on Strike Law *[Moscow Radio]* 43

Correspondent Views Nuclear Moratorium Appeal *[TASS]* 44
Shevardnadze Discusses Foreign Policy Process *[NOVOYE VREMYA No 28]* 45
Krushchev Exhibition Opens in Moscow 1 Aug *[TASS]* 48
New Custom Regulations To Take Effect 15 Aug *[TASS]* 48
Jury Trials, Other Legal Reforms Discussed *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jul]* 48
Draft Law on Militia Rights, Duties Prepared *[TASS]* 51
Informal Groups Registration Criteria Outlined *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Jul]* 51
Foreign Trade Official on Consumer Goods Shortage *[TASS]* 52
Flood Puts Far East Railway Line Out of Service *[TASS]* 53
Naval Mines Explode in 19 Jul Train Mishap *[GUDOK 21 Jul]* 53
Article Discusses Changes in Local Elections *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 9 Jul]* 53
KGB Confirms Burial Site of Purge Victims *[TRUD 26 Jul]* 55
Opinions on Congress of People's Deputies Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Jul]* 56
Krasnodar Kray First Secretary Interviewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 9 Jul]* 59
Casualties Reported in Kiev Building Collapse *[Moscow TV]* 64
    Further on Accident *[TASS]* 64
Vacationers Return to Abkhaziya Resort Areas *[TASS]* 65
Dementey Elected New Belorussian President *[TASS]* 65
Commentary Criticizes Railway Minister's Comments *[Baku Radio]* 65
Lithuania's Brazauskas Assesses Congress Results *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 11 Jun]* 66
Lithuanian Militia Official Views Crime Problem *[KOMJAUNIMO TIESA 20 Apr]* 68
Latvia's Leaders Debate Range of Issues *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 19 Jul]* 70
Latvian Trade Union Leader Interviewed *[TRUD 9 Jul]* 76
Armenian Deputy Criticizes Moscow Over NKAO *[KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN 16 Jun]* 77
Yerevan City Soviet Calls for Troop Pullout *[Yerevan International]* 78
Sports Committee Chairman Appointed in Armenia *[Yerevan Radio]* 79
National Ukrainian Perestroyka Movement Formed *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 26 Jul]* 79
Farms, Cooperatives To Form Association *[TASS]* 79
Army Critics Blamed for Fergana Events *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 13 Jul]* 79
Kharkov Oblast Workers Assist in Crime Prevention *[Moscow Radio]* 82
Bryansk Water Supplies Polluted, 'Harmful' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Jul]* 82
Clergymen Queried on Ukrainian Catholic 'Problem' *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 17 Jun]* 83

Economic

Statistics Committee Releases Half-Year Figures *[PRAVDA 29 Jul]* 86

Agricultural

Ligachev Evaluates Agricultural Production *[Moscow TV]* 99
Agricultural Developments for 29 Jul-2 Aug *[Moscow Radio]* 99

Scientific

'Cosmos-2035' Launched Into Orbit 2 Aug *[TASS]* 100

Military

Admiral Panin Discusses Accidents, Social Issues *[Moscow TV]* 101
Makarov Discusses 'Present State of Navy' *[Moscow International]* 103

Bogachev Reviews 'Brussels Compromise'

LD0208132689 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—By TASS observer on military issues Vladimir Bogachev:

According to the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL, nuclear warheads removed from U.S. cruise and ballistic missiles, which are to be destroyed in accordance with the INF Treaty, can soon appear again on West German territory, this time as part of new weapon systems.

It became a kind of a bad tradition in the U.S. military circles to respond to every step towards the reduction of military rivalry in Europe with political and military actions "compensating" in this or that way for the lessening of tension in international relations and moving the world back towards suspicion and mistrust. Something like this is happening today. According to DER SPIEGEL, the U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services decided to use nuclear materials from Pershing and cruise missiles for military purposes, specifically, in new weapon systems deployed in Western Europe.

The step taken by the Senate committee showed once again that Washington is not going to abide by the NATO "compromise decision" taken in Brussels last May and has set its course for the immediate deployment in Western Europe of new missiles and nuclear ammunition. The essence of the Brussels compromise between Britain and the United States, on the one hand, and West Germany, Belgium and other NATO countries, on the other, consists in the following: They agreed that the decision on the modernisation of U.S. nuclear weapon systems on the European continent should not be taken before 1992.

Now Washington representatives pretend that there was no Brussels "compromise decision" which the U.S. itself played up. When explaining its practical actions aimed at the modernisation of nuclear weapons in Europe, the Pentagon now prefers to quote a vague NATO decision taken six years ago whose fulfillment was actually postponed in Brussels last May. Nevertheless, a Pentagon spokesman told TASS in Washington on Tuesday [1 August] that the process of the modernisation of NATO nuclear weapons is continuing, which is in line with the NATO resolution adopted in Montebello in 1983.

Thus Washington again managed to deceive its allies both concerning the essence of the nuclear rearmament problem in Europe and the time of its fulfillment. West European countries have not responded so far to the actual revision of the "Brussels compromise" by the United States.

By all appearances, the latest U.S. actions connected with the modernisation of nuclear weapons are aimed at reducing to the minimum the practical significance of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and maintaining on a high level its potential for waging a "limited nuclear war" in Europe. Such actions taken by Washington can bring about another destabilisation of the military-political situation on the European continent.

Comparison of TASS Interview With Yazov

PM0108152589

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 1 August 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 4 an interview with Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, conducted by a TASS correspondent. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Bringing the Potential of Trust to Fruition," with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian version, which appeared on pages 1-3 in the 1 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, reveals the following variations:

page one, column one, first paragraph, PRAVDA version omits TASS dateline;

column two, paragraph four, last sentence PRAVDA reads: ...USSR's words and actions.

You, as they, see... (providing alternate wording);

page two, column one, paragraph two, in PRAVDA reads: ...work there, about their nature and traditions. But on the whole you are right, an acquaintance in absentia, however extensive and substantive it may be, cannot replace direct relations and personal contacts.... (supplying PRAVDA rendering of passage received indistinctly on TASS);

column two, paragraph two, sentence one in PRAVDA reads: ...as is well known, an exclusively defensive character.... (substituting 'exculsively' for 'thoroughly');

column two, last paragraph, sentence four in PRAVDA reads: ...bases, with the more than 500,000-strong group... (adding 'more than');

page 3, column one paragraph two, sentence one in PRAVDA reads: ...We regard the aims of the negotiations in Vienna... (adding 'the aims of').

Karpov Discusses Nuclear Arms Detection

PM0208080489 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Jul 89 p 5

[Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov "Debate" article: "Nuclear Arms Can Be Detected"]

[Text] There has been much discussion recently of the verification problems surrounding the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons.

A solution to these problems of verification is undoubtedly one of the prerequisites for the effective functioning of an arms limitation agreement. Experiences of the Soviet-U.S. INF agreement on the scrapping of medium- and short-range missiles are instructive in this respect.

On the one hand they show that the problems of verification must be the subject of detailed discussion. But on the other hand the effectiveness of verification procedures is not synonymous with the number of inspections or the number of inspectors. The important thing is to establish an optimum system and an optimum scale for verification. Verification procedures must be in strict harmony with the concrete content of the agreement. For this reason work on drafting the text of an agreement and on establishing verification procedures must proceed in parallel.

It has been asked whether we are prepared to establish some verification procedures before an agreement on nuclear and space weapons has been signed—something that the U.S. side has proposed. We do not doubt that such a preliminary review of verification procedures would be useful. We ourselves long ago proposed to the United States a joint experiment to arrive at checks on sea-based cruise missiles.

We propose to the United States that without waiting for the conclusion of an agreement on strategic offensive arms we carry out verification checks on heavy bombers to determine how many cruise missiles this or that heavy bomber can be armed with.

Unfortunately, these proposals of ours have not met with any positive response from the United States. However, we can hope that certain elements in the U.S. position in recent months—that they have accepted the need for preparatory work on selective examination of verification procedures before an agreement has been reached—mean that the U.S. attitude to the Soviet proposals has changed.

We are prepared under any circumstances to discuss with the United States the possibility of carrying out joint experiments to create ways of checking on all the types of strategic arms which could be the subject of 50-percent reductions: mobile ballistic missiles, submarine-based ballisitic missiles, heavy bombers, and aircraft- and sea-based cruise missiles. Such preparatory work would make possible optimally effective, but also sufficiently compact, verification systems for the future agreement.

The usefulness of such experiments is shown by the experiment on remote detection of the presence of nuclear arms on board ships which were recently carried out in the Black Sea by Soviet and U.S. researchers.

All the participants were agreed that the experiment clearly demonstrated that it is in principle possible to produce verification equipment which shows the presence or absence of nuclear arms on board ships.

This is a weighty argument in favor of reductions in the numbers of sea-based cruise missiles. In the past the U.S. side has refused to accept such cuts, with the excuse that there are no reliable verification methods which would not involve "intrusions"—something which the United States has refused to accept. If sufficiently reliable equipment for checking on nuclear arms at sea is developed, the need for "intrusions" and inspections on board ships and submarines is reduced.

The significance of this experiment goes beyond the mere possibility of verifying a Soviet-U.S. agreement limiting the numbers of one or other type of sea-based nuclear arms.

It also has great application to northern Europe, especially to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic area. In the Nordic countries this notion is linked to the idea that the Baltic Sea, or certain parts of it, must be given nuclear-free status. This naturally requires methods of checking that nuclear arms are not on board naval vessels in the area.

The Soviet Union firmly advocates that the nuclear powers should agree to declare whether or not there are nuclear arms on board their naval vessels when these vessels enter foreign ports. Openness in this respect is in our view an absolute prerequisite for ensuring stability and a predictable military and strategic situation at sea.

As far as is known, this view is shared by large sections of the general public in the Nordic countries. But so far the Soviet Union's proposal has not won a positive response from the other nuclear powers.

Through the creation of technical verification equipment which makes it possible to detect the presence or absence of nuclear arms on board, it ought to be easy to resolve the question, because the alleged advantages of a policy of "uncertainty" would then disappear.

Of course the experiment that was carried out only showed in principle that it is possible to achieve remote detection of the presence of nuclear arms on board naval vessels. This technical equipment would then have to be further developed—something which, for that matter, is already being done by Soviet and U.S. researchers. There can be no doubt that joint efforts by the parties concerned would make development and production of such equipment simpler, quicker, and cheaper.

Silin Praises Warsaw Pact Peace Initiatives

AU0208142389 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 1 Aug 89 p 3

[Statement by Yevgeniy Silin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, to unnamed NOVOSTI reporter: "Movement Toward the European Community of the 21st Century"—place and date not given]

[Text] Until recently it may have seemed that the all-European idea embodied in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference had somewhat faded in the eyes of public opinion. What was the reason for this? I think that it should be attributed to the differences of opinions which divide the Europeans on a wide range of issues—from nuclear missiles to cooperation in the humanitarian and human rights sectors.

Nevertheless, today on the eve of the 14th anniversary of the CSCE, it is evident that the Eastern and Western parts of Europe are promisingly drawing closer to each other. This progress is not only proceeding along the path of enriching and intensifying the Helsinki process, but also involves new spheres in the relations among European peoples and states, which even further expand the opportunities of the Final Act.

Hardly anyone would deny that the great constructive initiatives and unilateral actions of the USSR and of its Warsaw Pact allies have contributed to a great extent to the emergence of a new political atmosphere in European relations and to the achievement of a decisive change in these relations (which has not been completed yet) within a relatively short period.

The successful official visits paid by Mikhail Gorbachev to Great Britain, the FRG, and France, the documents of the Bucharest meeting, of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, and other recent events, including the visits paid by U.S. President George Bush to Poland and Hungary, revealed many specific features of such developments. In my opinion, these events can serve as a promising beginning in eliminating the obstacles in the way of the construction of the common European home.

I think that the policy of the allied socialist countries today, more than 4-5 years ago, coordinates the concern about their own security with the concern of our Western partners. The excessive peace-loving rhetoric was replaced by the specific invitation to engage in a dialogue based on a platform and on dimensions that are accessible and understandable both for the Western "establishment" and the broad people's masses.

Many people in the West admit that the Warsaw Pact member countries are providing more accurate and far-sighted answers to the challenges which Europe is meeting at the threshold of the 21st century. The ideal of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence, built not upon military strength, but on well-balanced interests and on the free choice of all peoples to select their own social and political development is in accordance with the basic interests of all European peoples. The two sides agreed on numerous fundamental principles upon which life in the all-European home should be based.

In my opinion, the second remarkable feature of the socialist countries' coordinated actions in European matters is the fact that these actions make it possible gradually to achieve basically new relations in Europe. This enables the partners to come closer to the ideal relations under which, without losing their own identity, they can convince each other that the proposed postulates by no means would jeopardize their mutual security.

It is a well-known fact that influential NATO circles oppose the idea of nuclear-free Europe and strongly adhere to the idea of nuclear deterrence. Mikhail Gorbachev, in his speech to the Strasbourg European Council, stated that a progress toward this goal, passing through the stage of minimal nuclear deterrence, is possible, while stability can be achieved in the sphere of conventional armaments by their radical and coordinated reduction.

The concept of security which organically involves not only military-political aspects, but also economic, cultural, and humanitarian-legal ones, leads to overcoming the split in Europe and eliminates the lack of confidence and suspicions that have accumulated over numerous decades. The first forums that followed the Vienna meeting of the CSCE member countries—namely the information forum held in London and the Paris conference on the human dimension of the Helsinki process—revealed the extent to which the representatives of the 35 CSCE member countries have distanced themselves from their former, confrontational forms of behavior.

As regards the socialist Warsaw Pact member countries, they confirmed their approval for the defense doctrine and devote their efforts to the unilateral reduction of armed forces, armaments, and military expenditures. They are submitting constructive proposals on the achievement of coordinated decisions at the Vienna negotiations. The peace-loving public is entitled to expect reciprocal measures on the part of NATO, a fact which would by all means contribute to the further progress of common European security.

KGB's Kryuchkov Urges Intelligence Cooperation

LD0308072489 Moscow TASS in English 0612 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—Chief of the Soviet State Security Committee (KGB) Vladimir Kryuchkov supports cooperation of the intelligence services of various countries in the struggle against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, terrorism and drugs trafficking.

In an interview published in the latest issue of the weekly NEW TIMES, Kryuchkov devoted special attention to the danger of nuclear terrorism. He said that several hundred tonnes of enriched uranium had disappeared in the world. "Humanity has reached such a high level of knowledge and technological potential that one can easily make a nuclear device and use it for blackmailing not only cities, but whole countries," he said. Kryuchkov does not rule out a possibility of someone using nuclear weapons. "There are such criminals," he said.

He quoted, as an example of cooperation of the intelligence services, the saving of Soviet schoolchildren whom terrorists had taken hostage in order to capture a plane and fly to another country. "When the bandits chose Israel as a destination, we encouraged them in every way because we were sure to meet with understanding there," Kryuchkov pointed out.

"We helped Britain and Canada prevent the transportation of large quantities of drugs. At present one cannot even compare the scope of separate problems facing our country and Western countries, including drug addiction. However, their experience of fighting drug trafficking will certainly be useful to us," he said.

Group of Seven Stance on USSR, China Assessed

OW0108210689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Station observer Mulatov commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: Let us talk about the political statement of the G-7 [Group of Seven]; namely, the joint document adopted at the Paris conference last weekend by the seven developed capitalist counties—the United States, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France, Italy and Canada. We will talk about the part of the document concerning relations between East and West; in other words, we will discuss the relations between the socialist countries and the capitalist countries, as well as the part directly related to China. In this connection, station observer Mulatov writes the following:

The contents of the principal political document of the G-7 conference in Paris are quite complicated. It can be divided into three parts: the positive part, the contentious part, and the impolite part. The last part is related to the stand of the seven countries toward China. We will talk about this a little later. To be fair, I think we must positively evaluate the part that called for peaceful coexistence between countries of different political systems in the political declaration of the seven countries, because it accords with the spirit of the times. I think that, in this part, the seven countries held that countries of the East and the West might work together to find ways to solve conflicts, and that it is necessary to help the less developed countries, to protect natural resources and the environment, and to establish a more free and open world. We have noted that this part of the political declaration of the seven countries accords with the new ideology of the Soviet Union. The main thing is that after this nice statement, they take concrete action.

Regretfully, the political declaration of the seven countries also has its contentious part. For instance, it mentioned the so-called imbalance in military strength between the Soviet Union and their side. What is hard for people to understand is why the leaders of the seven countries did not mention the proposal made by the Soviet Union on reaching an agreement to eliminate an imbalance on both sides through talks between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The United States and its allies also stubbornly refused to give up their strategy of nuclear deterrence. The regretful thing is that today only the Soviet Union and China among the five nuclear powers are convinced that the strategy of nuclear deterrence is a dangerous thing and does not accord with the demands of the times. The United States, Britain, and France, with the support of their allies, still stake their future on nuclear deterrence. The political declaration confirmed this point. Undoubtedly, this is one of the most negative parts of the principle political document of the G-7 conference.

I am convinced that almost all the resolutions and appeals of the G-7 conference in Paris directly related to China can be considered negative parts. I am not going to list all of them. I will only mention one point. The joint political declaration of the seven capitalist countries decided many things about China, made various suggestions, and wanted China to do this or that in its internal policies in order to avoid so-called international isolation. This is interference in China's internal affairs. The Chinese side has repeatedly warned its Western partners that they are not allowed to interfere in China's internal affairs.

United States & Canada

U.S. Policy Said to Blame for Hostage Crisis

LD0308102389 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—By TASS News Analyst Dmitriy Yakubov:

The tragic events in the Middle East develop rapidly. Following the raid by Israeli commandos, who seized Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd, a prominent Shi'ite leader, a Lebanese group executed hostage U.S. Marine Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins.

The deadline for the execution of another American hostage, Joseph Cicippio, is only a few hours away.

U.S. President George Bush and his closest advisers are huddled together, looking for a way out of the current crisis and discussing possible retaliation options.

Pressure is being put on President Bush by ultra-rightwing circles in favour of resolute retaliatory moves.

On the other hand, as the British newspaper THE TIMES justly observed, serious interference in hostage crises resulted in the downfall of President Carter and drew President Reagan into the notorious arms sales deal with Iran.

The Washington Administration has found itself in a complex situation. The question arises, what are the causes? And what confronted the U.S. Government with the need to urgently look for a way out of the crisis?

The current situation is a direct result of the policy of the United States which supports any Israeli actions in the Middle East.

The United States regards Israel as its most reliable and faithful ally in the region, an ally being given constant political, military and economic aid. Any actions of Israel are approved or tacitly supported while any condemnation of the aggressive actions of the Israeli military are categorically rejected.

Who will estimate how many times the United States has vetoed U.N. Security Council resolutions which made attempts, although timid, to condemn Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon or its actions in the occupied territories?

It is precisely this policy of the United States that is to blame for the situation, when Israel, while condemning terrorism in words and proclaiming itself a fighter against terrorists, in actual fact practices actions which cannot be regarded otherwise than terrorist ones.

U.S. Flagship Changes Course to Mediterranean

LD0308073389 Moscow TASS in English 0711 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Washington August 3 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatento:

The flagship of the U.S. 6th Fleet, the missile cruiser Belknap sailing under the flag of Fleet Commander Vice-Admiral James Williams, was ordered to interrupt, "owing to unforeseen circumstances", its journey to the Soviet Black Sea port of Sevastopol, a U.S. Navy spokesman officially confirmed to TASS on Wednesday.

The missile cruiser Gates and the frigate Kaussman—the two other U.S. naval vessels in the group on a reciprocal visit after the call by Soviet warships at the U.S. naval base at Norfolk, Virginia, last month,—are continuing to head for Sevastopol where they are to arrive on Friday.

The group is now sailing under the flag of Vice-Admiral Paul Ilg, deputy commander-in-chief of U.S. Naval Forces in Europe.

The Navy spokesman explained to reporters unofficially that the Belknap had changed course for the East Mediterranean, as the U.S. President considered different options in connection with the situation in the Middle East following the execution of American Lieutenant-Colonel William Higgins who had served in Lebanon with U.N. forces before being taken hostage by a Lebanese Shi'ite group.

The spokesman stressed that no decision on using U.S. warships in the crisis had yet been taken and that the naval movements had been undertaken "for safety's sake".

A carrier-based group of 12 ships carrying 2,400 marines and led by the aircraft-carrier Coral Sea, as well as the battleship Iowa, which is armed with long-range guns, have also set sail for the Lebanese coast.

Akhromeyev Interviewed on U.S. Visit

LD0208123689 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—The improvement of the political climate and the successful development of Soviet-American relations are the result of joint efforts, Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, adviser to the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has said in a TASS interview on the results of his recent trip to the United States. He told TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov that the feelings of the vast majority of Americans were gradually changing in favour of improving relations with the USSR, developing and deepening ties between the two countries.

Touching upon the Soviet Union's relations with Western countries, he expressed high appreciation of the recent statement made by U.S. President George Bush to the effect that the time has come to go beyond the framework of the deterrence concept and to pass over to a better peace with the USSR and central European socialist countries.

"Personally, I am positive that at present the United States and its allies are not going to start a war against the USSR. At the same time, we are duty-bound to bear in mind that the U.S. and NATO in general continue to pursue a policy from the position of strength and to act in accordance with the nuclear deterrence strategy," Marshal Akhromeyev said.

Speaking about the B-2 plane, he described it as a modern and effective weapon. However, if the U.S. Armed Forces adopt it, the USSR will have to take measures not to allow superiority over itself. Such measures, not necessarily identical to those taken by the U.S., including in terms of cost, will be taken, Marshal Akhromeyev stressed.

He described the refusal of the Washington administration to negotiate the reduction of the naval forces on a bilateral basis as an attempt to achieve military superiority. He expressed conviction that the reaching of agreement on the beginning of talks on the reduction of naval forces and the limitation of military activities on seas and oceans was one of important conditions for a further improvement of Soviet-American relations.

Answering a question about European affairs, Marshal Akhromeyev pointed out that the USSR and its allies were ready to reduce their troops in Europe and to reorganise them in such a way as to achieve reliable security. Of course, he continued, the Soviet Union expects reciprocal actions from NATO.

Speaking about his meeting with President Bush, he pointed out that their conversation had been held in a constructive tone and had touched upon many problems. During the conversation Bush stressed that the U.S. was going to hold serious talks with the USSR on arms control problems in order to achieve mutually acceptable results.

"I left the White House in a good mood," Marshal Akhromeyev said in conclusion.

Shevardnadze Receives U.S. Ambassador

LD0208111789 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received today Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

Petrovskiy, U.S. Aide Bolton Confer 27 Jul

PM0308085389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Consultations took place 27 July between USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State J. Bolton, who is in Moscow. In the course of the consultations, which were held in conformity with the accord reached between E.A. Shevardnadze and J. Baker on including transnational problems in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, they discussed the parameters of cooperation between the USSR and the United States within the framework of multilateral diplomacy, primarily at the United Nations.

China

Chinese Stance at Paris Meeting 'Constructive'

OW0308092689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Commentary by Alekseyev—from the "Current Events and Commentaries" Program]

[Text] Dear listeners: The foreign ministerial level meeting has ended at the international conference on the Cambodia issue in Paris. Our station observer Alekseyev comments on the outcome of the first phase of the conference. He wrote:

Agreement was reached to set up a number of work committees during the first phase of the Paris meeting. The tasks of these committees are to study the key domestic issues of Cambodia, draft the relevant resolutions, arrange the international supervision of troop withdrawal by Vietnam from Cambodia, hold a general election in Cambodia under international supervision, and resolve the Cambodian refugee and other problems.

The Paris meeting also decided to send a special observer group to Cambodia to study the situation there. French Foreign Minister Dumas noted that these decisions are very important first steps forward. Many participants at the Paris meeting also made similar appraisals of these decisions. I believe that there is every reason to make such an appraisal. We can still remember that, in the last few years, international conferences held for this purpose have always ended in an impasse because no agreement could be reached on the agenda and a definite plan. During the first phase of the Paris meeting, there were also difficulties in reaching an agreement on the resolutions because the Khmer Rouge raised a number of objections. These objections are in contradiction with previously reached agreements. One must point out that the other participants ignored the persistent objection by the Khmer Rouge and did their best to adopt the resolutions and make the meeting a success. The ASSOCIATED PRESS took note that, after Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen met with the Khmer Rouge leader

Khieu Samphan on Tuesday, the Khmer Rouge immediately withdrew their objection. The ASSOCIATED PRESS pointed out that everything indicates that China sincerely wishes to make the Paris meeting a success.

I agree with the evaluation of the Chinese stance made by the Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach. Nguyen Co Thach stressed that the Chinese attitude had been constructive during discussions at the Paris meeting and had won the praise of all participants.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Official's Remark on Soviet Threat Refuted

OW0308052789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] We will now broadcast a Radio Moscow commentator's comment on the remarks made by Director-general Ochi of Japan's Economic Planning Agency.

Director-general Ochi of Japan's Economic Planning Agency is currently visiting the United States. He is visiting the United States to discuss, in detail, various issues to be taken up at the Japan-U.S. economic and trade consultations scheduled for September. One of the issues expected to become a major topic at the September talks concerns the structural barriers existing in Japan-U.S. trade.

What is the Japanese approach to this issue? The so-called Soviet military threat seems to have been regarded as a major factor affecting Japan-U.S. trade issues as well as the solution to these issues.

As KYODO News Agency reported, in his talks with U.S. Senator Danforth, Director-general Ochi stated that it would not be favorable for Japan and the United States, as trading powers, to fight each other, and that although tensions have eased, the Soviet military threat still exists.

Even Japanese journalists feel that such absurd comments, which amount to something like sewing a fox's skin to that of a lion, are incomprehensible. By one means or another, Director-general Ochi tries to put the blame of Japanese-U.S. trade frictions on the Soviet Union, which has nothing to do with the frictions. Director-general Ochi seems to have forgotten the many changes which have taken place in the world and the unilateral disarmament policy implemented by the Soviet Union in the world, including the Far East. Beyond any doubt, his poor memory was due to some stereotyped and selfish thinking. However, history, particularly the trend of the times during the past few months, does not indicate in any way that the indiscreet remarks made by a member of the Japanese cabinet, which is doomed to be short-lived, will enhance Japan's international prestige at this time.

Anniversary of Kuril Islands Landing Discussed

OW2807133889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 21 89

[Video report by Viktor Feoktistov from the "Vremya" newscast, including interview with Associate Professor Valeriy A. Feoktistov, candidate of historical sciences; first paragraph is introduction—recorded]

[Text] Two hundred and fifty years have passed since the development of the Kuril Islands by Russian explorers. [Video cuts from studio to show Feoktistov on a beach interviewing Associate Professor Valeriy Aleksandrovich Golubev, candidate of historical sciences]

[Begin recording] [Feoktistov] Valeriy Aleksandrovich, 250 years ago Russian mariners landed on the shores of the southern Kuril Islands for the first time. Now, as a historian and specialist, how would you comment on this event in the history of our fatherland?

[Golubev] You know, I think that I can say only one thing, that this event could be compared to major world discoveries by world scientists. In a way it is equivalent to or maybe it is even more significant than the discovery of America by Columbus, the opening up of Africa by Livingstone, and many other things. [Video cuts to show men in period mariners' outfits wading ashore from a yacht and presenting gifts to a family group dressed to look like Ainu aborigines]

[Feoktistov] Russian seafarers, headed by the expedition commander, Captain Martyn Petrovich Shpanberg, stepped ashore on to the sloping sandy beaches of Kunashir for the first time. They are met by an Ainu family, the native residents of the island. The visitors present gifts of beads to the natives and offer peace and friendship and an exchange of goods. Everything according to the instructions given to Shpanberg by the Collegium of the Admiralty: If you find people there, treat them with kindness, do not anger them in any way, and do not attack them or otherwise show hostility to them. And do not concern yourself with islands that are under the jurisdiction of other states.

What they had in mind was Matmay, the present island of Hokkaido. But this was just one side of those distant events. Nearly half a century has now passed since the ancient Russian lands, the Kuril Islands, were liberated from the Japanese militarists and —in accordance with the right of first discovery, first exploration, and first development—returned to our motherland. [Video shows an aerial shot of a settlement near the sea, the unveiling of an anchor with commemorative plaque attached, then pans polluted beaches, trashed landscapes, and rusting hulks of ships on the coast]

All these years the main master on the Kurils has been Minrybkhoz [Ministry of the Fish Industry] and its enterprises. And this is how they run things in the Kuril Chain, from Shikotan to Paramushir—take as much as possible, take everything and invest nothing into the housing and social spheres, into the ecological cleanup of the Kurils. After all, some of the islands have been practically turned into gigantic trash dumps and the Kuril people are justifiably indignant and demand that Minrybkhoz and Sakhalinrybprom [Sakhalin Fish Industry Administration] put an end to this barbaric attitude. The Kuril Islands, that like a string of pearls form the Eastern gateway to Russia, must after all receive a comprehensive, dynamic and socially just state program of development and prosperity. [end recording]

Nikonov, Others See Off Mongolia's Batmonh

LD2807170189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Mongolian leader Jambyn Batmonh departed from Moscow today. He was in the USSR on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Batmonh was seen off at the airport by Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Rybakov, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and other officials.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Plenary Sessions of Cambodia Conference End

LD0208024689 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Paris August 1 TASS—Plenary sessions at a foreign minister level are over at the current international conference on Cambodia here.

At this stage of the forum efforts have succeeded to reach an agreement on the formation and goals of the commissions within whose framework the quest for ways to settle the situation in Cambodia will be continued. French and Indonesian Foreign Ministers Roland Dumas and Ali Alatas, who are co-chairmen of the conference, told this to journalists.

First Phase of Conference Viewed

BK0308065989 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Alek Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The first phase of the Paris conference has resulted in a agreement on the setting up of working committees to examine the important aspects of the situation in Cambodia and to organize a draft resolution relating to the conference's work—that is, to examine such questions as international supervision of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, internationally supervised elections in the country, and the refugee problem.

It was also decided that a fact-finding mission will be sent to Cambodia. Roland Dumas, French foreign minister, regarded this decision as an important step forward. This assessment has also been made by the other participants, and I think there are sufficient foundations for such an assessment.

It is worth recalling that many international conferences held last year were stalemated because no agreement could be reached on the questions of modalities and a work program.

The drafting of the resolution on the first phase encountered difficulty. This was due to the fact that the Khmer Rouge group made a proposal in contrast to the previous agreement.

We must admit that the participants went to a great deal of effort to adopt a resolution that would enable the work to proceed effectively.

AP pointed out that the Khmer Rouge group immediately withdrew its proposal following the meeting between the Chinese foreign minister and Khieu Samphan. This clearly shows that China also wants the Paris conference to be successful.

In this connection, I wish to refer to the nature of the Chinese stance, which has been pointed out by Vietnamese Foreign Minister Comrade Nguyen Co Thach. The comrade has stressed that China's constructive attitude with regard to the issues to be discussed at the Paris conference deserves to be highly appreciated. [passage indistinct].

Toxic Waste Disposal in Southeast Asia Noted

HK0208081789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Commentary by (Aleksandr Rasiliev)]

[Text] The Philippines' Health Department reported that many people died and 200 were poisoned after eating contaminated seafood caught in Manila Bay in a span of 1 year. According to environmental specialists in the country, the virus contained in a milliliter of water taken from the lake is a hundred times higher than normal. This contaminated water is also hazardous to the health of copper, tin, and cadmium panners. The first reason for the high level of pollution in the bay, or lake, is the industrial waste disposal caused by transnational companies, the majority of them owned by western countries. They earn a lot of money and avoid setting up refinery facilities. The problem is aggravated by the presence of the U.S. military bases in the archipelago. Under the U.S. military commander's directive, U.S. personnel have been dumping used chemical reactors, petrol, and all sorts of garbage into the sea for many years now.

This situation is also similar to that of the (Siamese Bay). Its waters have become contaminated by poisonous substances coming from foreign chemical factories. One of them is a Japanese firm called (Tai Asaki Caustic Soda).

The same could be said about the lake in Jakarta. Based on the report of the Indonesian journal TEMPO, fish caught from the area cannot be eaten because the water's mercury level is 100 percent above normal. This is not surprising because only 8 percent of the companies, which are mainly owned by foreign capitalists, have refinery facilities.

Meanwhile, the policy of industrially developed countries of transferring their industrial waste does not solve the problem. They only bring environmental damage to the developing countries. Furthermore, they dump the industrial materials they no longer need on these countries. According to U.N. specialists, the export of ecological crisis to developing countries increases every year. French journals have reported that developing countries send hundreds of ships containing toxic wastes away from their borders annually. Experts claim that illegal export of such products is ten times higher than what is officially accepted.

Recently, 300 methenamine containers were sent to an address in Thailand and were not being claimed. In them were thousands of tons of chemical substances which are hazardous to health. The containers that were sent to Bangkok remained unclaimed. Due to the country's tropical climate, holes appeared in the containers. Thai authorities had to keep the containers on their territory.

This and such other incidents are being tolerated by officials of the Philippines' Department of Environment and Natural Resources. They want it known that the capitalist countries consider Southeast Asia as an area where they can easily dump their toxic wastes. With the environmental damage caused by these activities, the governments of the Southeast Asian countries and its general public have lodged complaints. In Iligan City, Mindanao, the contract of the U.S. firm LTR Development Incorporated to build an industrial processing complex was not approved after residents of the area carried out an active protest. The Philippine government has also prohibited the use of the Bataan power plant. It was built by Westinghouse Company. Experts say the plant was set up even if the safety of the people and the environment was at stake.

The Malaysian authorities have closed down the plant owned by Mitsubishi Chemical Industry corporation. Radioactive wastes were illegally dumped in the vicinity.

Can the massive ecological aggression of developing countries be countered by separate moves? The majority say that with the goal of improving the ecological situation, all the countries belonging to the region can join in efforts to counter the powerful capitalist countries' attempt to make the area a dumping ground. Observers say that transnational corporations' activities in these countries should be monitored closely to avoid damage to the environment and give remuneration.

Based on world experience, ecological problems cannot be resolved by the move of one nation or region. This is a world problem. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in his address to the Chinese, said that mankind's safety and the progress of its civilization will be the fruits of the joint aspirations of all nations and its citizens.

Near East & South Asia

Katushev Leads Delegation to Libya 2 Aug

LD0208221289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2130 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Tripoli, 3 Aug (TASS)—A Soviet government delegation led by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, arrived in the capital of the Libyan Jamahiriyah on Wednesday evening.

The delegation was met at Tripoli International Airport by Fawzi al-Shakshuki, secretary of the General People's Committee for Petroleum.

The head of the Soviet delegation made the following statement at the airport:

The aim of our visit is to continue the talks begun in Moscow with the Libyan delegation led by F. al-Shakshuki. At these talks, we will conduct an exchange of views on issues of developing cooperation between our countries. We already have a certain tradition in this field. In Libya there are facilities set up through the two countries' joint efforts: both economic facilities and facilities in the sphere of strengthening the Libyan Jamahiriyah's defense capability. A long-term program for the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Libya was defined and signed during the visit to Moscow by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution. Since then, work has been conducted successfully in some areas of that program. However, because of a number of circumstances and external conditions, principally in the sphere of the economy, the fulfillment of all the tasks has been hampered. In our opinion, conditions now are maturing for us to try, having evaluated the priority to be given to the tasks, to find ways to implement them in practice. This is the actual aim of the visit, and it is beyond doubt that the success of our meeting will promote the development of cooperation between our peoples and countries in various fields.

Explosions Damage Soviet Consular Office in Beirut

LD2907002189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Another 30 Lebanese people have been added to the list of victims of the Lebanese tragedy. They have been killed or injured in the course of another flare-up of artillery fire which last night seized the entire line dividing the sides involved in the confrontation. Several tens of large-caliber mines and shells exploded in the area of the Soviet Embassy, and houses inhabited by the staff of Soviet establishments and diplomats. There were no casualties. The premises of the Soviet consular office and its residential section have been damaged. [video shows skirmishes in the streets]

Higgins Death, Regional Conflict Linked

LD0208153889 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] News agencies continue to refer to the American Colonel William Higgins, who was executed in Lebanon by an extreme Shi'ite group. On Tuesday other hostages were expected to be executed, and though the killings were suspended, the news media around the world continued to talks about terrorism. More about this from Mikhail Mayorov. This is what he writes:

This is not the first time Lebanon has been the center of terrorism. The long years of crisis make the situation worse all the time. That innocent people are being killed testifies the price humanity is having to pay for the lack of solution to regional conflicts. Unabated hatred continues to generate terrorism with its shocking forms of human rights abuses. This in turn aggravates the conflict, producing a vicious circle.

Strictly speaking, the execution of the American hostage, William Higgins, outrageous though it was, was retaliation for an equally inhuman act by Israeli commandos who abducted the Shiite leader Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd. It remains a question as to whether Israel failed to foresee the possible consequences of the operation, or acted deliberately to escalate tensions.

According to reports, Washington is considering how to respond to the murder of the American in Lebanon. Meanwhile, there are calls for military action against Lebanon or Iran. Once again, violence is generating violence.

It's hard to imagine anything more revolting than international terrorism with its heavy toll in lives of innocent people, but it's hardly likely the nations will stop it if the environment enabling it to thrive continues to exist.

Lebanese realities prove this all too well. The one solution is to eliminate the hot spots and eradicate from international practice such things as aggression, occupation, and annexation.

Shevardnadze's Iran Visit Linked to Security Issues

LD0208165889 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Aleksiy Zlatorunskiy commentary: "On the Results of Eduard Shevardnadze's Visit"]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze paid a working visit to Iran. He was received by President of the Republic Hashemi-Rafsanjani; he also had talks with Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati. Official sources indicate that the two sides discussed bilateral relations and exchanged views on a number of local and international issues, including the Afghan matter, which is of foremost interest to Iran and the Soviet Union.

Aleksiy Zlatorunskiy writes: The Arab countries look with envy—if not suspicion—on any Soviet-Iranian contacts, and especially the visits of Soviet officials to Iran or of Iranian leaders to the Soviet Union. To some extent, this can be attributed to extensive Western propaganda which claims that the Soviet Union plays the Iranian card against the interests of the Arabs, who consider Iran a traditional enemy.

Commentaries to this effect emerged in some Arab papers following the visit of Eduard Shevardnadze to Iran. It is easy to notice the distance separating the nearsightedness of such a view from logic, especially through the Soviet Union's position regarding the Iraq-Iran war. The Soviet Union deployed everything in its power during the war period, thus making good use of traditional friendships with Iraq and Iran to stop the meaningless bloodshed and establish a firm and just peace in the Arab Gulf region. This issue was discussed during the Soviet foreign minister's present visit to Iran. The Soviet side expressed its conviction on the need for continued negotiations between Iran and Iraq.

These negotiations have been going on for more than a year, as is already known. So far they have not led to the conclusion of a peace agreement between the two countries. The Iranian side showed an understanding attitude toward the Soviet point of view; it highly values the constructive position of the Soviet Union which aims at helping establish peace and tranquillity in the Arab Gulf. The two sides expressed the need to use all means available for the provision of peace and security and the containment of conflicts. It is not difficult to note that such a stand is among the most important international issues and conforms with the interests of countries, including Arab countries.

Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Iran coincided with the serious escalation of the situation in Lebanon as a result of Israeli terrorism, and the Lebanese extremists' killing the American colonel. The Soviet minister draws the attention of the Iranian side, which has some interests in Lebanon, to the Soviet Union's serious concern vis-a-vis these terrorist operations and their probable results. Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani indicated that Iran has no hand in these operations and expressed his regret for this tragedy and the need to take urgent measures to avoid the ensuing tension of the situation.

One notices that when Eduard Shevardnadze presented this issue for discussion, he did so not only because of the basic principles of the Soviet foreign policy which rejects all forms of terrorism—he also translated the desire of a number of countries to use the esteem of the Soviet Union to avoid the escalation of tension in Lebanon, a matter that is likely to have a negative effect on all international conflicts, including the Middle East situation.

This escalation can only serve the interest of Israel and those of forces which support Israel's hostile policy. All this gives us the right to stress that Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Iran and his talks with Iranian leaders, based on the principles of new political thinking, is a significant contribution to the establishment of security in the Arab Gulf, that undoubtedly agrees with the interests of all the countries in the regions and those of the international community as a whole.

Soviet-Iranian Relations Reviewed

LD2907173689 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 29 Jul 89

["Window on the Arab World" by Alek Grekov]

[Text] We move to a subject that does not seem to relate directly to Arab countries: the development of Soviet-Iranian relations. A month has passed since Soviet-Iranian talks were held in Moscow. During these talks a number of documents on bilateral cooperation in various fields were signed. However, we notice even now that sometimes there is optimism [tafa'ul]. Does the development of Soviet-Iranian relations not pose a threat to the Third [thalithah] World countries?

Our commentator writes: Those who utter these words give prominence to a line from among the total number of documents signed in Moscow, which says that the Soviet Union is ready to cooperate with the Iranian side on the issue of strengthening its defensive capability. This sentence is presented as a surprise. However, the truth is that we cannot see any surprise here. Bilateral cooperation in this sphere has been going on before the beginning of the 1980s, but it was later stopped with the commencement of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict and has been resumed now, nothing more and nothing less. There is no basis for concern.

The document, the Soviet-Iranian statement on the principles of relations, from which that sentence was singled out said that bilateral cooperation will develop in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter toward consolidating peace and security in the region and in the world generally.

As for the joint Soviet-Iranian statement dated 24 June, it also specifies a number of political bases for the two sides aimed, as declared, at achieving a final settlement of the Iraqi-Iranian dispute and making the Gulf and the Indian Ocean peace zones. Thus, as pointed out by the Soviet paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the Soviet-Iranian documents signed in Moscow clearly explain the outline of the development of Soviet-Iranian cooperation. This cooperation does not constitute any threat to Third World countries, as there has never been such a threat in the past.

Kornilov Denies USSR-Iran Ties Pose 'Threat'

PM2807110789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS political observer Yu. Kornilov article under the "Pertinent Comments" rubric: "Whose Purpose Does It Serve?"]

[Text] A month has elapsed since the Soviet-Iranian talks in Moscow but the results of these talks are still being discussed and commented on by the international press. The overwhelming majority of commentaries are couched in a positive vein but from time to time other notes creep into some of them. Citing the fact that the USSR has shown readiness to help Iran in strengthening its defense capability, devotees of the old stereotypes are tossing the following rhetorical question to mass media organs, notably Arab mass media organs: What is behind this? Won't this development of Soviet-Iranian relations "threaten" third countries?

What can be said on this score?

As is well known, in the course of the Soviet-Iranian talks in Moscow an extremely broad range of problems were discussed. Important documents were signed: a declaration on the principles of relations and friendly cooperation—the first such joint political document since 1927—along with agreements on trade turnover, the construction of the Mashhad-Tedzhen railroad, and a memorandum on mutual understanding on consular questions. This list in itself convincingly illustrates that the dialogue was useful and fruitful and its results accord with the interests, aspirations, and national sovereignty of the two countries' peoples. We in Moscow are sincerely glad of this. It is appropriate to remember in this connection that although Soviet-Iranian relations have not always developed smoothly, our country invariably advocated strengthening mutual contacts and ties. During a recent conversation between USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze and Iran's ambassador in Moscow N. Heirani-Nobari, both sides expressed a positive opinion of the progress made in fulfilling the accords secured.

Certainly, the Soviet-Iranian declaration on principles of relations also indicates that the "Soviet side agrees to cooperate with the Iranian side in strengthening its defense capability." It is this sentence that some unscrupulous commentators are "extracting" from the vast document, passing it off as a kind of "sensation" and interpreting it without discernment. But there is in fact no sensation here since this cooperation took place prior to 1982 and is only being resumed now. Well, you may ask, may this fact really be seen as something unusual and exceptional, especially if you take into consideration the current level of relations between the two neighboring states? Cooperation in this sphere is no rarity in international practice.

Something else also attracts attention—the aforementioned fans of pseudosensations quote the Soviet-Iranian declaration saying that the USSR has expressed readiness to make military shipments to Iran. However, while announcing this, the authors of some commentaries for some reason doggedly hush up the fact that in this same declaration Moscow and Tehran state with the utmost clarity that cooperation between the two countries is developing in accordance with the principles and aims of the UN Charter in order to strengthen peace and security in the region and the world. The joint Soviet-Iranian communique published 24 June also outlines a number of the sides' specific political directives aimed at a definitive settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict (which Baghdad also vigorously advocates), the transformation of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean into peace zones, and the settlement of conflict situations in other regions of the world, ranging from the Near East to South Africa.

As we can see, you have to possess a great deal of imagination to detect the possibility of some mythical "threat" to other states in Soviet-Iranian cooperation. Who benefits from this false version? It is not at any rate the people who sincerely advocate good-neighborliness and mutual understanding between countries and peoples.

Commentary Discusses U.S. 'Intervention' in Iran

NC2807094989 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Igor Sheftunov commentary: "U.S. Intervention in Iran's Domestic Affairs"]

[Text] In an interview with the TEHRAN TIMES Deputy Majlis refuted a report published in the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-SIYASAH about the normalization of U.S.-Iranian relations, pointing out that the continuation of U.S. intervention in Iran's domestic affairs is preventing the establishment of normal relations between the two countries. Our commentator Igor Sheftunov writes on this:

When the United States severed relations with Iran in 1980, it resorted to an act of (?brigandry) immediately after this [word indistinct] act. On the night of 25 April, the Pentagon landed airborne forces in the Tabas area. The final objective of this move was a coup in Iran. Even though this plan was aborted, nevertheless the United States continued to intervene in Iran's domestic affairs, resorting to military activities against your country.

Washington seized the Iran-Iraq war as a pretext and increased its military presence in the Persian Gulf to a great extent. The large U.S. fleet was stationed along the Iranian coast. U.S. warships destroyed Iran's oil platforms and hit Iranian ships. Last year the "USS Vincennes" downed an Iranian passenger plane which was on a civilian flight route, killing all 298 passengers and crew on board.

In tandem with these moves, the United States exerted economic pressures on Iran. Washington declared an economic embargo against the newly created republic and called on its NATO allies to participate in this embargo. On orders of the U.S. State Department, Iranian assets in U.S. banks, which amount to many billons of rubles, were frozen.

Naturally, all these acts exacerbated relations between Iran and the United States and negatively affected the situation throughout the region.

Last year Iran and Iraq reached an agreement on a cease-fire with the mediation of the United Nations in a bid to end the conflict through political means and started peace talks. Tehran newspapers wrote that Iran has the right to be hopeful that the U.S. warships leave the Persian Gulf. Despite this, the United States continues obstinately to maintain its warships near Iranian coasts and continues its military pressures on Iran.

Meanwhile, U.S. intervention in Iran's domestic affairs continues. Information Minister Mohammad Reyshahri stated that in April this year that a spy network organized by the CIA had been uncovered in Iran. Reyshahri named 20 Iranian military personnel and civil servants, all of whom were arrested on charges of trying to overthrow the Iranian Government.

U.S. economic pressures on Iran also continue. Despite Iran's persistent calls for the release of its assets from the U.S. banks, these assets remain frozen. Moreover, the United States has not fulfilled Iran's just demands for full compensation for the downing of the Iranian passenger plane by the U.S. warship.

All these elements have created an atmosphere of confrontation between Tehran and Washington. As stated by Mohammad Reza Bahonar only U.S. nonintervention in Iran's domestic affairs and (?respect) for Iran's interests can result in a normalization of U.S.-Iranian relations.

Afghanistan's Mangal Interviewed on Soviet Aid

LD0208153189 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—The Soviet Union is leading the way in rendering assistance to Afghanistan in the economic and trade fields, Sarwar Mangal, Afghan deputy prime minister and cochairman of the Soviet-Afghan commission on economic cooperation, told a news conference here today.

Over the years of war, he said, Afghanistan sustained heavy losses and the country is now healing its wounds. Having noted the significance of Soviet aid, Mangal said that it stood at 85-90 per cent of the overall economic aid received by the country.

The Moscow talks, the Afghan prime minister continued, primarily focused on issues of ensuring the continuous functioning of the country's transport system to supply necessary foodstuffs, equipment and prime necessities. Preparing for winter, the Afghan Government exerts every effort to create stocks of petroleum products for the armed forces and population, as well as consumer goods. In this connection the Afghan side asked the Soviet Union to increase supplies of a variety of goods. Mangal expresed gratitude to the Soviet Union for meeting nearly all requests from Afghanistan, thus enabling it to solve most of its problems.

Speaking about the military political situation in the country, he stressed that the armed opposition starts to realise its weakness. It failed to score any successes in direct military confrontations. On the contrary, the republic's armed forces are gaining in strength. At the same time, the more defeats the opposition suffers, the heavier the shelling of peaceful Afghan cities, the stronger contradictions in the opposition and between various groups, both inside and outside Afghanistan.

The Afghan Government always aimed at withdrawing from the war and putting an end to the bloodshed, Mangal said. It is always prepared to engage in dialogue with the opposition and other forces with the aim of establishing peace and tackling all problems by political means. The deputy prime minister stated the Afghan ledership's interest in continuing the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on Afghanistan.

Replying to a question on the fate of Soviet servicemen held by the armed opposition, he said that the Afghan side would exert every effort to return them home.

Talks on Soviet POWs in Afghanistan Continue

Zapertov Assesses U.S. Talks

LD0208174589 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—"Our meetings and talks in the United States were useful and reassuring", Oleg Zapertov, chairman of the All-Union Association of Armed Forces Reserve and Soldiers-Internationalists Councils and Military-Patriotic Associations, told TASS.

Zapertov headed a delegation of former soldiers-internationalists, which has returned from the United States lately.

Zapertov said that the trip was organised by the Soviet Peace Fund and became possible due to preliminary meetings with members and activists of the International Committee for the Liberation of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan.

"In Washington both organisations set out their views on talks with Afghan rebels on the liberation of Soviet POWS and outlined their joint efforts and steps," Zapertov said.

Tom Lantos, chairman of the congressional human rights caucus and activist of the internatinal committee, assured the Soviet delegation that he would exert every effort to help liberate the Soviet POWS, Zapertov added.

According to the Soviet delegation's head, collating both the committees' lists of missing Soviet soldiers was also very important.

During the meeting with Kabir Kuhestani, a representative of Afghan rebels in Washington, we learned about the Afghan opposition's stand as regards the POW's, Zapertov concluded.

Efforts To Release POW's Discussed

PM0208182189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with journalist I. Andronov and writer A. Prokhanov of the "Nadezhda" people's committee for the rescue of Soviet prisoners of war by IZVESTIYA special correspondent M. Yusin: "'Nadezhda' in Afghanistan"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date of interview not specified]

[Text] Kabul—IZVESTIYA has already reported that a delegation of the "Nadezhda" people's committee for the rescue of Soviet prisoners of war [POW's] is in Kabul. Our special correspondent met with journalist I. Andronov, the chairman of the committee, and writer A. Prokhanov, the delegation head.

[Yusin] What is the purpose of your visit to Afghanistan?

[Andronov] The main purpose is to enlist support from the Afghan Government in our struggle to free Soviet POW's. We have already met with USSR and Pakistani leaders—two of the interested parties. The third such party is, of course, Afghanistan, and "Nadezhda's" activity will hardly be crowned with success without the assistance and good will of this country's authorities.

Apart from contacts with the Afghan Government, we are trying to establish ties with representatives of the opposition, including field commanders who may, according to our information, be holding Soviet soldiers prisoner.

[Yusin] President Najibullah received the "Nadezhda" delegation. What is your impression of your conversation with him?

[Andronov] The Afghan president approached our problems in a clear and friendly fashion. Our meeting with him was reassuring. I can even say that in many respects thanks to the Afghan president we will be able to enter into talks in the next few weeks regarding the release of the first group of Soviet POW's. Of course, this question is extremely delicate and one can never be totally confident that everything will go as planned until the very last moment. Nonetheless, we hope that this summer some of the Soviet soldiers who have fallen into the hands of the mujahidin will return home. Our meeting with Najibullah confirmed this hope.

[Yusin] Talking with the Afghans, I heard recriminations on several occasions regarding your committee: Why do the talks with the opposition only mention the fate of the Soviet POW's, as if hundreds of Afghan Army soldiers and officers have not also been captured by the mujahidin?

[Andronov] These recriminations can be attributed to insufficient information. During our recent visit to Pakistan we did in fact specifically discuss possibilities for the release of Afghan POW's. Even Mojaddedi, the president of the opposition "government," assured us that if an agreement on an exchange is concluded, the imprisoned government troops will not be forgotten. Unfortunately, neither our press nor the foreign press has provided adequate coverage of this aspect of the talks.

[Yusin] The Pakistani leadership has never acknowledged that there are Soviet POW's on its territory. What is your opinion following your trip to Pakistan: Are they there?

[Andronov] In order to organize working, businesslike relations with the Pakistani Government, we were forced to accept their formula without question. Yet our aim is ultimately to ensure that Soviet soldiers return home. On the whole it is not that important which side of the Afghan-Pakistani border the mujahidin are keeping our lads entombed. Provided they escape to freedom.

[Yusin] I have recently heard dissatisfied voices, mainly among servicemen: Some prisoners surrendered voluntarily or deserted, and some even turned their arms against the Soviet Army. They have all now been offered an amnesty and they cannot be tried, even for treason. How can we train young draftees and how can we inspire respect in them for the oath when those who have violated it go unpunished? What is your opinion on this question?

[Prokhanov] I would single out three viewpoints on the problems of POW's which are current in our country. The first is typical of some servicemen; they look at things from the standpoints of 1941-1945, when any soldier who ended up in jail immediately became a traitor worthy only of contempt. The second viewpoint is diametrically opposed: All POW's are almost national heroes since, by driving their bayonets into the ground, they expressed their protest against an unjust war. Lastly, the third viewpoint, somewhere in between the first two, is the stance held by the Soviet Government. An amnesty to all POW's irrespective of the circumstances of their capture, as it were, disposes of this problem. The state, which at one time sent men to Afghanistan, is now, as it were, assuming their guilt.

But most often there was no guilt. Are we right to condemn lads who said goodbye to their school desks, then immediately after were given assault rifles and sent to fight in a strange, bleak country? God alone knows what they had to suffer in the fanatics' torture chambers: threats, torture, taunts... If any of them adopted Islam to save his life and read out anti-Soviet statements which had been written for him—can we regard that as treason and an irreparable fault?

But those soldiers who—once captured—joined opposition detachments and fought against their own compatriots... Can you really believe that they want to take advantage of the amnesty and return? These people have already made their choice. Moreover, there were very few of them, just a handful.

The overwhelming majority of POW's did not commit any crimes against their people. The people must regard them as children who have gotten into trouble and who must be rescued. It is that humanist approach which now prevails over the problem of POW's.

For the first time in 70 years our state has engaged in the release of imprisoned soldiers. Previously, we recall that it effectively renounced POW's and left them to the mercy of fate. These people were like processed slag which was of little interest to the state policymakers. At last we have come to realize that a civilized state cannot and does not have the right to leave its sons in trouble—in no part of the world under any circumstances.

Delegation Returns From Kabul

LD2907121289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1719 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jul (TASS)—TASS Correspondent Igor Ivantsov reports:

The delegation of the Hope People's Committee to save Soviet prisoners-of-war in Afghanistan returned to Moscow from Kabul today.

Writer Aleksandr Prokhanov, the head of the delegation, told a TASS correspondent that "the visit to Kabul was a logical continuation of our visit to Pakistan where the first steps were made toward arranging a dialogue with representatives of the armed Afghan opposition with regard to freeing the Soviet prisoners-of-war who are in their hands."

"We are deeply grateful that our efforts met with understanding and support from the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan and from President Najibullah personally," Iona Andonov, co-chairman of the committee, continued the story." I believe that considerable progress has been made in solving the problem, although it is too early to reveal all the details of our efforts. We hope that in the very near future it will be possible to begin talks on releasing the first group of prisoners-of-war".

"During its stay in Afghanistan," Iona Andonov said, "the delegation did not manage to have a meeting with representatives of the armed opposition, but thanks to assistance from President Najibullah, it had the opportunity to contact in writing the commander of one of the units where a group of Soviet prisoners-of-war is located. "Our committee is awaiting a reply and is ready to meet when it receives the agreement of the other side," Andronov said.

U.S. Talks on POWs 'Constructive'

PM2807091589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general headline: "Glimmer of Hope"]

[Text] New York, 22 Jul—Another small but important step has been taken in the matter of bringing home Soviet soldiers taken prisoner by armed formations of the Afghan opposition. One might draw this conclusion from the visit to the United States by a delegation from the coordinating committee of the Soviet public for the release of Soviet servicemen held captive in Afghanistan, which ended Friday [21 July]. It included eight representatives of different USSR organizations united by this noble goal.

The few days the delegation spent here were packed with meetings with politicians who exercise considerable influence on the making of U.S. policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan. They include U.S. Congressmen C. Wilson and T. Lantos and M. Roberts, head of the right-wing "Committee for a Free Afghanistan" organization.

Mikhail Shemyakin, a Russian artist living in the United States and chairman of the international committee to rescue Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan, gave a great deal of assistance in organizing the trip by the group of Soviet public figures to the United States. He noted in conversation that the talks were sometimes very difficult. But, according to him, the meetings took place in a constructive atmosphere. In particular, a number of preliminary conditions for the return of Soviet prisoners of war was agreed on.

Kabul Defenses for Opposition Approach Reported

PM0208150389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by special correspondent A. Boldunyuk: "Kabul, First Day of August..."]

[Text] Kabul—Kabul has been awaiting the approach of this day. Mounting tension could be felt in the city's entire life. Rumors had long been current that it was for 1 August that the opposition had planned the start of active operations on the approaches to the Afghan capital.

Foreign newspapers also wrote about how the extremists are trying to use their chance to change the present situation which is highly unfavorable to them. The Pakistani newspaper THE MUSLIM reported recently that the "season of hostilities" will begin in the next few days with an attack on Kabul and Qandahar and also with strikes against airfields. Indeed, the mujahidin understand that they simply must achieve some marked successes—otherwise their inability to resist the government army will also become obvious to their patrons who supply the opposition with weapons.

But this time too the attraction for "round figures" has not been justified. Contrary to habit since the morning no explosions have been heard—since yesterday's shooting when missiles fell on the "Avitsenna" [name as transliterated] hospital and a full trolleybus of the rebels' positions have been subjected to a massive bombing strike. The extremists entrenched near Kabul have gone into hiding again.

With a group of colleagues from other newspapers I set off for the front line of the capital's defense. At a command post several kilometers from the city outskirts, on the site of the former out of town residence of the last Afghan king, we were met by Major General Alimamad-Aktash [name as transliterated], commander of an infantry division.

"The enemy is about 2 km from here," he said. "The elders from nearby hamlets are now having talks with the gangs' ringleaders and asking them not to spill blood for no purpose."

A wonderful panorama opens up from the command post—green fields, fruit orchards, and the little houses of Shakardar [name as transliterated] hamlet. If Anvar Dangar [name as transliterated] from the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," the commander of the bandit formations concentrated in this region, decided nonetheless to switch to active operations, then this almost idyllic landscape will become a battlefield. The division defending the line here has sufficient weapons to suppress an offensive by the "intransigents."

"The old men told us that if they begin to shoot from the direction of the mountains, reply in kind. We have ceased fire for the duration of the talks," Lieutenant Colonel Amanulla [name as transliterated], chief of the division's artillery, says.

While we were talking with the commanders a shell fired against the defense line cut into the slope of a neighboring mountain. No return shot ensued from the long chain of howitzers. The soldiers of the artillery crews remained inside the shelters set up at each gun.

"My post is over there," Private Akhmad-Dzhavid [name as transliterated] showed me. The stereoscopic telescope clearly shows the post, standing 0.5 km from the command post. Similar security posts have been placed on other heights.

"At present my comrades are at the post, soon I shall drive out to take their place," the soldier says, selecting the Russian words with difficulty.

If the enemy switches to the offensive, he will be the first to take the strike. Will there be enough shells for the tank and ammunition for Akhmad-Dzhavid's comrades entrenched at the post? The soldier points to the boxes placed next to one of the guns. "They will help if anything happens," he says.

...Yes, today there is a lull on the defense lines. I look into the distant horizons covered in the heat haze until my eyes hurt. Those who come here with weapons in hand will be met by the fire of the defenders of Kabul. The soldiers are prepared to repel the extremists' offensive. But the city is so close....

Afghan Situation Unchanged; Rebels in Disarray

PM0108132189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by special correspondent M. Yusin: "Afghanistan: Intransigents' Chances Are Fading"]

[Text] Kabul—Over the past week the situation in Afghanistan has undergone no substantial changes. Were it not for the continuing rocket strikes on Kabul and the artillery duels between the defenders of the country's largest cities and the opposition forces which have surrounded them, it could be said that a certain lull had come in the hostilities.

Informed military circles told me that the situation around the country's key centers—Jalalabad and Qandahar—has stabilized and is causing no fears. On the other hand, an alarming situation has taken shape near Khowst. The offensive which the enemy launched 3 weeks ago has forced the government troops to retreat 12 km. In the days since then intensive shelling and bombing against the attacking mujahidin has made it possible partly to rectify the situation. But nonetheless control has not been successfully restored over all the positions lost in the first days of the offensive.

Military experts agree that an enemy offensive on Kabul is to be expected in August: The opposition is concentrating substantial forces on the approaches to the capital. To all appearances in the next few weeks these forces will be brought into play: The mujahidin are not interested in putting off the start of the operation.

Time is working inexorably in favor of the Kabul government. Unless the mujahidin succeed in achieving some significant successes on the front before the fall, their situation will be unenviable. After all, with the advent of the cold weather, when the snow fills the passes and makes the delivery of reinforcements and ammunition more difficult, major operations, especially the storming of Kabul, will be unfeasible. The mujahidin fear that in that case their most powerful patron—the United States—will lose faith in the possibility of a military victory for the opposition and will modify its policy with regard to Afghanistan to their disadvantage.

So the last chance of Najibullah's opponents is to deliver a serious military defeat before the cold weather arrives. But, to judge by the commentaries of the foreign mass media, few people believe in that development of events. If only because never before has the opposition camp appeared so split, so entangled in internal contradictions as now. Sometimes you form the impression that the mujahidin have switched entirely to settling accounts with each other.

Distinguished particularly in this respect is the extremist "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" grouping of G. Hekmatyar, whose persistent calls for unity and cohesion are finding no response even among the lower commanders subordinate to him: Often they open hostilities counter to the will of the leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan."

This was confirmed by an incident in Takhar Province, which has caused a sensation. "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" field commander Said Dzhamal [name as transliterated] set up an ambush in which 30 members of another very large mujahidin grouping—the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan"—died. It emerged that S. Dzhamal was acting at his own discretion, without orders from Peshawar.

As a result of the field commanders "autonomy" a serious political crisis has arisen which could finally bury the armed opposition's hopes of achieving unity.

"The mujahidin will scarcely succeed in achieving decisive successes in the struggle against the Kabul regime this year, which may ultimately rule out the possibility of a definitive victory for the opposition," is the pessimistic conclusion reached by a VOA commentator in a recent radio broadcast.

Missile Attacks Increase Amid Rebel Infighting

PM0208175989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA special correspondent A. Boldinyuk dispatch: "'Hot' Days in Kabul"]

[Text] Kabul, 26 Jul—Even old hands among the Soviet community cannot remember such a cool July in Kabul. At the very height of summer, when people are usually suffocating in the heat, the sky was covered in clouds. And the other day there was a real downpour in the city.

Perhaps Kabul's inhabitants would also have noticed this puzzling whim of the forces of nature if another extraordinary event had not occurred in the city.

A rocket projectile landed in the very center of the capital, at a bus stop in the Spinzar [name as transliterated] district. Surviving passersby rushed to help the wounded, and at that moment another missile exploded very close by. The result is well known—more than 40 dead and more than 130 wounded. Never before have bombardments in the capital had such terrible results. An almost direct hit by two missiles on the same spot, perhaps the busiest place in Kabul, confirms information received here about deliveries to the extremists of a new consignment of highly accurate rocket projectiles. The mujahidin deny that their aim is to kill peaceful inhabitants—according to opposition spokesmen, the missiles are aimed at government establishments—but the explosions reverberate in commercial streets, near mosques, and in markets. Acts of sabotage have not stopped either—an explosive device planted in a store selling office goods destroyed adjacent buildings as well.

Unable to achieve any notable success on the battlefield, the opposition is continuing its barbarous bombardment of cities. But the fresh casualties only lead to an increase in the Afghans' hatred of the leaders of the "diehards." Today the mujahidin do not control a single major city in the country, and all the indications are that they have virtually no chance of military success. Nonetheless, overseas patrons continue to count on the disorganized and undisciplined mujahidin army, which is rent by internal contradictions. As THE NEW YORK TIMES reported recently, a large number of Stinger antiaircraft missiles, a consignment of mortars, and mine countermeasure systems will be delivered to them. And it is primarily peaceful inhabitants who are the victims of the weapons allotted by the opposition for the struggle against Kabul.

Meanwhile reports of clashes between opposition groupings are continuing to come in from different areas of Afghanistan. Recently there was fighting between detachments under G. Hekmatyar, foreign minister in the "transitional government," and detachments under Defense Minister N. Muhammadi in Paktia and Helmand Provinces. The closest supporter of the latter—field commander Gul Abbas, who commanded the mujahidin forces in Paktia Province—was killed. Recently about 50 mujahidin died in Qandahar and Nangarhar in clashes among gangs under A.R. Sayyaf, N. Muhammadi, and G. Hekmatyar. In Herat Province a ammunition truck carrying 12 people belonging to Rabbani's party hit a mine laid by members of one of the gangs in G. Hekmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan." Similar clashes, as Mojaddedi, the president of the "transitional government," recently admitted, also occur between opposing groupings on Pakistani territory. According to Mojaddedi, Hekmatyar has twice planned an attempt on his life. The infighting in the opposition camp was also pointed out by Peter Thompson, the U.S. envoy to the so-called transitional government in Peshawar, who stated that the mujahidin's military failures can be ascribed not so much to the shortage of weapons and ammunition as to the opposition forces' "disunity." But the bandit formations continue to receive weapons.

A few minutes before I was to transmit this article to the editorial office, BAKHTAR's teleprinters chattered out a report about a fresh missile bombardment of the Afghan capital. Three rocket projectiles were launched at the city's residential areas; four people were wounded, including three children.

Afghan Mujahidin Military Victory 'Unrealistic'

PM3107090589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA press service report: "Afghanistan: War Leading to Deadlock"]

[Text] News agencies report from Afghanistan that the intensity of the combat actions around Jalalabad and Khowst remains high.

In the past few days mujahidin detachments have tried to attack government army positions in the Jalalabad region, but without success.

Seven people were injured on Monday evening when a bomb planted by extremists in the center of the Afghan capital exploded, a REUTER's correspondent reports from Kabul. The city continues to feel the shortage of prime necessities: The roads linking Kabul with Jalalabad and Ghazni along which the city's food supplies are conveyed are closed to traffic.

In the past few days armed clashes among the "intransigents" have acquired the character of protracted combat actions in Takhar, Qandahar, Herat, and Helmand provinces and the death toll from these clashes numbers dozens.

The mujahidin actions are beginning to arouse sharp criticism even in those countries which have traditionally supported the opposition throughout the years of the armed conflict in Afghanistan. At a routine briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, V.P. Perfilyev, first deputy chief of a USSR Foreign Ministry administration, drew journalists' attention to a statement by Juergen Maier, representative of the Green Party Federal Board (FRG), which condemns the mujahidin shelling of Afghan cities. The Greens' representative also criticized the stand taken by the United States and Pakistan, which encouraged the Islamic fundamentalist formations to use scorched earth tactics.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the West's gamble on a mujahidin military victory has proved unrealistic. The solution of the Afghan problem requires different approaches, which can be found only on the basis of a dialogue by all the forces involved in the conflict.

Envoy Visits Syria, Iraq to Discuss Lebanon

JN2907160989 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 27-28 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Beirut—AL-SIYASAH—According to the information—which AL-SIYASAH received from one of his sources—of an Arab diplomat in the Lebanese capital, a high-ranking Soviet envoy secretly visited Damascus and Baghdad last week and held talks on the Lebanese problem, its complications, and developments in the region's crisis.

According to this information, the Soviet envoy advised both capitals to act to cool the Lebanese situation at any cost because Moscow had information that Israel was ready to use the hot Lebanese scene to create complications that will be difficult to resolve. The Isreali plan is to strike at the Palestinian intifadah [uprising] as an introduction to undermining the region's issue by creating alternatives.

Although no information on the answers given to the Soviet envoy were leaked from either capital, this Arab diplomat's sources say that the envoy gave a detailed analysis of his information on Tel Aviv's position. There was an identity of views on the need for Arab confrontation of this Israeli plan at any cost. Syria also promised to do all that it can to cool the Lebanese scene and bridge the gaps through which Israel might infiltrate and confuse the Lebanese scene.

Kuwaiti Military Delegation Arrives in Moscow

LD2707021089 Kuwait KUNA in English 1757 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 26 (KUNA)—Visiting Kuwaiti military delegation led by Brigadier 'Abd al-Aziz al-Barghash conferred here Wednesday [26 July] with Soviet First Deputy Defence Minister Konstantin Kochetov on means of enhancing bilateral military relations.

The meeting was attended by Kuwaiti Ambassador to Moscow 'Abd al-Mohsen al-Du'ayj. Kochetov had visited Kuwait in mid of this month and held rounds of talks with a number of Kuwait military officials and toured some military installations in the country.

Moiseyev Meets Gen Kochetov Back From Kuwait

PM0208080989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, who had been on an official visit to Kuwait, returned to Moscow 20 July.

Army Gen K.A. Kochetov was met at the airport by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, and by generals and officers.

'Abd al-Mohsen Yusuf al-Du'ayj, Kuwaiti ambassador to the USSR, was among the welcoming party. [passage omitted]

Kuwait Cultural Official Ends USSR Visit

LD2807195589 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—Farouq al-Omar, general secretary of the national Council for Culture, Art and Literature of Kuwait, has ended his visit to the USSR today.

During his visit to Moscow (from July 25 to 28) the Kuwaiti guest held negotiations at the Soviet Foreign Ministry and had meetings and conversations at the Ministry of Culture of the USSR and the State Committee of the USSR for Public Education.

The signing of a program of cultural and scientific cooperation between the Soviet Union and the State of Kuwait for 1989-1991 at the Foreign Ministry of the USSR has been the result of the negotiations. The program envisages further development of cooperation between the two countries in culture, science, education, information and sports.

Pakistani Envoy Cited on Asian-Pacific Talks

LD2807224589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] A roundtable conference devoted to the 3d anniversary of the peace initiatives for the Asia-Pacific Region which were advanced by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Vladivostok, has ended at the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries in Moscow. Our correspondent interviewed Abdul Sattar, Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Pakistan in the Soviet Union, one of the participants in the roundtable conference.

[Correspondent] I think that this kind of meeting can only be welcomed, says Abdul Sattar. Especially because we here received an opportunity to freely exchange the most diverse opinions on the most topical matters of the entire Asian region. The Pakistan leadership has highly evaluated the proposals of Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok. We welcome the initiatives of the Soviet Union and hope that they will be successfully realized to create an atmosphere of trust and mutually advantageous cooperation throughout the world. Despite certain positive shifts, seats of tension still remain in the Asian-Pacific Region. This applies primarily to Afghanistan. The situation in Afghanistan has significantly changed since the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. The

Pakistani government has joined with the world community in evaluating highly that initiative of the Soviet Union. However, the internal problems of Afghanistan still remain unresolved. In the current conditions, it is necessary for the people of that country to be given an opportunity to implement the right to self-determination and free choice of a government which would represent the interests of all the conflicting sides. The problem of a settlement of the situation in Afghanistan is the focus of attention at various international conferences. Next week, the latest consultations on this issue will be conducted by the official representatives of the USSR and the United States. We consider that all countries which are interested in an early settlement of the Afghan problem by peaceful and political means, should take part in the solution of this urgent problem, said Abdul Sattar, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Pakistan in the USSR, in conclusion.

India-Pakistan Post-Summit Relations Discussed

PM2507120589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Skosyrev commentary: "India-Pakistan: Thaw Despite the Freeze"]

[Text] The visit by Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi to Islamabad did not produce any sensations. As a result of his previous round of talks with B. Bhutto, held at the end of last year, agreements were concluded on nonaggression against one another's nuclear installations and also on the development of economic and cultural exchanges. But this time no such accords were reached. This arouses the temptation in the commentator to give the meeting a negative appraisal. But such a conclusion would be superficial at the very least. After all, when it is a question of relations between countries like India and Pakistan, it is not just the outcome of their talks that is important but the very fact that the talks were held at all.

Let us remember that there have been three Indo-Pakistani wars in 42 years of independence. In the intervals between these wars, an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and expectation of attack from the neighboring country has prevailed in both capitals.

Even in the periods of comparative calm, the border between the two states has ranked among the world's explosive regions. Even since the conclusion of last year's agreements, which appeared to open the way to detente, the atmosphere on the subcontinent has remained tense. Figuratively speaking, Indian and Pakistani servicemen continue to eye each other through their gunsights. What is more, there is a god-forsaken region, the Siachen Glacier, which stretches for 72 kilometres high up in the Himalayas, where army units frequently engage in artillery duels and shoot-outs.

"The rules of confrontation are perfectly clear: A target appears and you open fire," a correspondent from America's NEWSWEEK magazine reported after a visit to the glacier. "Artillery observers stationed in the passes and on the summits monitor the other side's patrols and supply columns day and night, using night observation devices when it is dark."

The glacier, to which both countries lay claim, is not the only hotspot on the border. Officials in Delhi cite convincing evidence for the claim that Pakistan is harboring armed fighters from among the Sikh extremists seeking to tear the Punjab away from India.

At the end of last year, the author of these lines had the opportunity to visit the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. This too is an uneasy region. Pakistani military intelligence sends its agents over the border to try to incite Muslims to jihad—a "holy war" to "liberate" Kashmir from the Indians.

Border clashes are being worsened by rivalry in the arms sphere. Naturally, Delhi cannot look on indifferently as Pakistan obtains new consignments of F-16 fighter-bombers and other military hardware from the United States while simultaneously continuing work on the creation of a nuclear bomb. In turn, Islamabad accuses India of initiating the military confrontation by being the first developing country to test its own ballistic missiles and building up its navy.

Taking all these features into account, it is hardly surprising that the public statements by R. Gandhi and B. Bhutto at the end of the talks did not say anything very specific. But the fact that they have made a joint appeal for friendship and cooperation is undoubtedly a significant event. The decision to hold further talks between their military departments on the problem of the Siachen Glacier is also a hopeful sign.

It is also worth drawing attention to the fact that the premiers spoke in favor of a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan. For India, this stand is natural, as it has long been a consistent supporter of inter-Afghan dialogue and national reconciliation. Pakistan is another matter, because it has become an indirect participant in the war on the mujahidin side. Obviously it will take something more than words before Islamabad's calls for a political solution to the Afghan problem are taken seriously.

Ryzhkov Receives Outgoing Indian Envoy

LD2907185889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Today Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has received Kaul, the Indian ambassador in the USSR, in connection with the end of his mission and his forthcoming departure for home. A warm friendly conversation was held, during which individual questions concerning cooperation between our countries were discussed. Comrade Ryzhkov noted Kaul's great personal contribution toward the development of Soviet-Indian relations and wished him success in his work.

Primakov Receives Outgoing Iraqi Ambassador

LD0208191789 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Council of the Union, received today Iraqi Ambassador to the USSR Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal on the occasion of the latter's departure from the Soviet Union and held a friendly conversation with him.

East Europe

Reportage on Gorbachev-Miodowicz Talks

LD0208204289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 2 Aug (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev today received Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the Polish National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ].

A committed exchange of opinions took place about the activity of trade unions in conditions of perestroyka in the USSR and of socialist renewal in Poland. Even with all the considerable differences between the positions in the two countries, the success of the deep reform processes in them depends to a large extent on the decisiveness and political endurance of the trade organizations of the working class.

Note was made of the irreplaceable role of the trade unions in defending the rights of the working people from various kinds of bureaucratic distortions. It was stressed that with a responsible approach to their task they are capable of acting in good time to avert imminent conflicts, of tackling them in a rational way together with economic and governmental bodies in the interests of the working man, without letting matters get as far as social disturbances which would threaten the elementary bases of the life of society and thrust it backwards.

Normal government, M.S. Gorbachev noted, cannot get by without lively trade unions. The miners' strikes which took place recently in a number of coal-producing regions of the country showed once again and very convincingly that the people working in the trade unions everywhere now should be competent and energetic and not those who were occasionally in the past "posted" there for a "quiet life." They must be people who possess the authority of the labor collectives and who have a broad political view and understand the whole scale of the essential structural and scientific-technical changes in the national economy whose implementation will need a considerable time.

At the same time very many legitimate demands of the working people concerning working and everyday conditions and the granting of production independence to labor collectives can and must be satisfied within the shortest and precisely defined timespans.

Alfred Miodowicz spoke of the complex problems which are now arising for Polish trade union organizations when the broad transfer of the country's national economy to market mechanisms is under way. Practical difficulties are being intensified by major theoretical problems in the elaboration of the problems of present day labor and production organization, which is having a negative effect too on the activities of the trade unions. In this connection he welcomed the more active cooperation and exchange of experience between Polish and Soviet trade unions.

The OPZZ chairman thanked Mikhail Gorbachev for the interest that he has displayed in the existence of Polish trade unions and conveyed good wishes from Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in favor of a deepening and broadening of contacts with all Polish parties, trade unions, and public organizations interested in constructive interaction with their Soviet partners. It is exceptionally important, he stressed, to guard and multiply everything good that there has been and is in Soviet-Polish relations. Our peoples have been living alongside each other for centuries, and even in the worst Times, for which tsarism and the ruling bosses of Russia and Poland bear the responsibility, the best representatives of our countries supported each other in their striving for social progress. Now, thanks greatly to the joint efforts of the CPSU and the Polish United Workers Party, there has been created between our countries the trust which was lacking for so long in the past. This is a guarantee of the fruitful development of our links, the more so since both the Soviet Union and Poland are engaged in a common cause—the renewal of all spheres of social life for the good of working people, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Gennadiy Yanayev, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; and Ryszard Paciorkowski, counsellor at the Polish People's Republic's Embassy in the USSR, took part in the conversation.

PAP Reports Talks

LD0208225689 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug 2—Mikhail Gorbachev received here today chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Alfred Miodowicz. They exchanged views on the activity of trade unions in the conditions of perestroika in the Soviet Union and socialist renewal in Poland.

Mikhail Gorbachev came out in favour of intensifying and expanding contacts with all Polish party, union and social organizations interested in constructive cooperation with Soviet partners. It is very important, he said, to protect and develop all good things that have existed in the Polish-Soviet relations.

Today confidence, lacking for so long in the past, has been created between our countries, largely thanks to common efforts of the CPSU and PUWP [Polish United Workers Party]. It is a guarantee of a fruitful development of our relations, the more so that both in the Soviet Union and Poland we carry out common work, namely a renewal of all spheres of social life in the interest of working people, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed.

Alfred Miodowicz talked about complex problems facing today Polish trade union organizations when the national economy is being switched to market mechanisms. Practical difficulties are still worsened by theoretical gaps concerning problems in the contemporary organization of work and production, which has also an adverse impact on trade union activity. In this context Alfred Miodowicz welcomed with satisfaction closer cooperation and exchange of experiences between Polish and Soviet trade unions.

The OPZZ leader thanked Mikhail Gorbachev for his interest in Polish trade unions' work and conveyed to him best wishes from Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Political Bureau Member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev and secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions Gennadiy Yanayev participated in the meeting.

Poland's Kiszczak Interviewed After Elections

LD0308025589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Czeslaw Kiszczak, newly elected chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by Yu. Ulyanov, in Warsaw 2 August—recorded]

[Text] [Ulyanov] Today, at the 3d day of the sitting, Poland's national assembly elected, after stormy and lengthy debates, Czeslaw Kiszczak as chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. Two hundred and thirty-seven deputies voted for him and 173 deputies voted against. Ten abstained. To be elected, he needed 211 votes.

Czeslaw Kiszczak was born in 1925. During the war years, he participated in the movement of resistance to the Hitlerite occupants. Since 1981 he has worked as Polish minister of internal affairs. He is a general of the armed forces. Since 1986 he has been a member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party Central Comittee. As a representative of the government, he participated in the roundtable negotiations of all Poland's political forces.

Here is his first interview to journalists.

[Begin recording] [Ulyanov] Comrade Kiszczak, Poland is in a difficult economic situation. What are your first sentiments after the elections?

[Kiszczak in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] This is true. The new Council of Ministers is beginning its activity at a period when the country has proved to be in a difficult situation. On the one hand, I experience satisfaction at the result of the voting in the Sejm. On the other hand, I feel great responsibility before the burden of the tasks facing the acting government.

Availing of this interview with Soviet television, I would like to convey the most cordial greetings to my friends in the Soviet Union, to my colleagues with whom I hope to maintain close contacts in the future. [end recording]

[Ulyanov] The composition of the new government will be presented to the Sejm in approximately 2 weeks.

Council of Ministers Greets Polish Premier

PM0308093989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Council of Ministers Message of Congratulations to Poland's Kiszczak]

[Text] To Comrade Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers

Esteemed Comrade Kiszczak!

On the occasion of your appointment to the high position of chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers, please accept congratulations and wishes for success in your responsible activity for the benefit of socialist Poland.

We express confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and all-around Soviet-Polish cooperation will continue to steadily develop and deepen in the interests of our countries and peoples.

USSR Council of Ministers

Gorbachev Congratulates Rakowski on Election

PM0208153389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev greetings message: "To Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Rakowski!

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and on my own behalf I congratulate you on your election as first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee.

I am confident that CPSU-PZPR cooperation will continue to develop in a spirit of comradeliness and mutual understanding for the good of our peoples.

I wish you all possible success.
M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

PZPR Politburo Discusses Food Market Prices

PM0208183789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Through Common Efforts"]

[Text] The complex of problems connected with introducing market mechanisms into the activity of the country's food complex was examined at a session of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo.

Having familiarized itself with observations and proposals made by the PZPR Central Committee Economic Commission and the Polish Council of Ministers, the Politburo concentrated on the social consequences of this step on the road to improving the economy. As already reported, such measures as the creation of a free market for foodstuffs and the abolition of ration cards for meat and meat products are necessary to restore market equilibrium. However, they will lead to significant food price rises, which will require the payment of some compensation to the population.

Particular attention was paid at the session to the consequences which these measures may have for family budgets, especially in families of workers and pensioners. The Politburo told the government to carry out an additional detailed analysis of all factors ensuring efficient implementation of this necessary and economically rational decision.

More MSZMP Officials Quit Party

PM0208132589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch under the rubric "Life of Fraternal Parties": "Trend"]

[Text] Budapest, 25 Jul—In recent months more personnel have been leaving the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] apparatus. This is connected both with the reduction of the apparatus and with natural wastage: Many people are looking for more "reliable" positions in the sphere of the national economy. While last year the apparatus of the Central Committee, county [megye] party committees, city party committees, and Budapest district party committees numbered 6,000 people, in March this year they numbered 3,600. And in the last few months they have been reduced by another few hundred people.

A large percentage of those who are leaving today is made up of personnel who were defeated in the elections to party and state organs. Having received only 30-45 percent of the votes, they consider it necessary to hand in their resignations. Labor legislation extends to them: They are entitled to receive full pay for 6 months while they look for a new job, and they undergo retraining at special courses.

The trend to perform party work on a voluntary basis is strengthening. Of 1,800 party committee secretaries in plants, ministries, and institutions, only several hundred will now perform their duties as full-time workers.

The MSZMP is at present looking for new methods and forms of activity in order to involve specialists and the intelligentsia in solving current and future tasks in society's development.

Romanian Naval Training Ship Visits Sevastopol

PM0208160389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit by Romanian Warship"]

[Text] Sevastopol, 29 Jul—The training ship "Mircea" of the Socialist Republic of Romania Navy, flying the flag of Rear Admiral C. Iordache, deputy commander of the Socialist Republic of Romania Navy, arrived on an official friendly visit to the hero-city today.

The mission commander paid a visit to Admiral M. Khronopulo, commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, and Ye. Generalov, chairman of the Sevastopol City Soviet Executive Committee.

The visits were returned.

West Europe

FRG Consulate Opens in Kiev 1 Aug

LD0208022689 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Kiev August 1 TASS—An FRG general consulate began to operate in the Ukrainian capital today. The consulate is headed by 54-year-old Count Von Bassewitz.

The FRG general consulate in Kiev and the Soviet consulate in Munich were established under the protocols signed between the Soviet and West German foreign ministers. The consulates are a logical development of the relations between the two countries which have in recent years been acquiring a new quality, stimulated by the visits to the USSR of the FRG President Richard Von Weizsacker (1987), of Federal Chancellor Helmut

Kohl (1988) and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the FRG last June. The duties of the general consulate in Kiev include economic and trade assistance, assisting German nationals in legal matters and issuance of visas to Soviet nationals.

Von Bassewitz believes that the officials of the general consulate will be quite busy. Kiev and Munich, which have reached agreement in principle to become twin cities, each play an important role. The south western part of the Soviet Union and the south of the Federal Republic of germany are leading in the fields of industry, science and agriculture in their countries. Both regions have an ancient, rich and original culture. That is why it is necessary to revitalize and maintain the German-Soviet dialogue, to exchange ideas, people and goods between the two major regions.

IZVESTIYA Notes New Consulate

PM0208172389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] In accordance with the protocols signed by the USSR and FRG foreign ministers on 22 July 1986 and 19 January 1988 on establishing a Soviet Consulate in Munich and an FRG Consulate in Kiev, an accord has been reached on their opening at the end of July.

Prussians Ask Gorbachev To Open Kaliningrad

AU0208102189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 2 Aug 89 p 4

["Lor" report: "Letter to Kremlin Chief: Open Kaliningrad"]

[Text] Bonn—Ottfried Hennig, spokesman of the East Prussian Expellees' Association, has sent a letter to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, calling for the opening of Kaliningrad. Hennig: "We are still suffering from the fact that the northern part of East Prussia must not be visited because it is a restricted military zone." Keeping the area closed is an incomprehensible anachronism, he says.

Military reasons can no longer be valid today, in particular since the southern part of East Prussia has been open to Germans for many years, Hennig says. Hennig writes to Gorbachev: "Therefore, I ask you to examine and lift this measure that is no longer understandable ... It is a human right to at least be able to visit one's homeland." Particularly because the East Prussians suffered from the terrors of war, violence, and expulsion, they feel especially called upon to demand the observation of human rights and the peoples' right to self-determination, Hennig says.

Hennig, who is also parliamentary state secretary (Christian Democratic Union) in the Ministry of Inner-German Relations, also sees the first promising signs of an opening. This year the first Germans were permitted to visit Memel. Hennig: "Some journalists were able to visit the city, which is called Kaliningrad, and which will always be remembered by us under the name of Koenigsberg. It is also the city where I was born."

Gorbachev's reference to the common European home has met with a special response there. The awareness that this city is built on the soil of an old German town has obviously been cultivated there since Gorbachev came to power, Hennig says.

Yuriy Ivanov, chairman of the Kaliningrad Cultural Fund and first secretary of the local section of the Writers' Union, as well as chairman of the Kant Society, and a Soviet citizens' initiative for re-establishment and preservation of German cultural assets are considering the establishment of a joint German-Soviet society. Its purpose would be to promote the renovation of German cultural monuments (first and foremost, Kaliningrad Cathedral), but also other monuments (such as citizens' houses that are worth being preserved).

In this connection, Hennig offered the support of the East Prussian National Museum in Lueneburg, the East Prussian Cultural Center in Ellingen, the East and West Prussian Foundation in Bavaria, or the Haus Koenigsberg Museum in Duisburg. In addition, he can well imagine that "many German citizens" would make donations if Kaliningrad Cathedral could be renovated as a church.

Soviet-British Relations Viewed as 'Realistic'

LD0208215889 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent: One can say today that a solid enough basis was created in relations between the Soviet Union and Britain, which allows the two countries to hope for advancement in many directions of mutually beneficial cooperation, including in political area.

The present moment, especially after Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Britain, is characterised by a more realistic understanding of the opportunities inherent in the bilateral dialogue as a whole. The process of the sides' positions drawing closer is observed increasingly often and sometimes they concide and develop in parallel. This has been the practical result of the enormous work which was carried out in Soviet-British relations in recent years and gives confidence that the processes which emerged in bilateral relations have not a bad future.

At the same time, in the Soviet Union they understand that even learning to speak to each other from the positions of independent and equitable partners, the sides' philosophic-conceptual approaches and their interpretation of various problems of the world and European politics sometimes differs very substantively.

But here, too, the USSR does not dramatise these differences, considering them as natural and real matters reflecting the peculiarity of the two countries' political and social choice. Evidently, both sides need to apply efforts to find additional arguments for nearing their stances on the more pressing problems.

This applies, first and foremost, to the role of nuclear weapons on which the Soviet and British standpoints differ. The Soviet Union opposes the "nuclear deterrence" concept. At the same time, it is ready to conduct dialogue even on this issue. Gorbachev, speaking on the results of the visits to Britain, West Germany and France at the Soviet parliament session, said, in part, that a stage-by-stage approach is needed in such processes as nuclear disarmament.

In Soviet diplomatic circles they consider that there is a chance now to bring closer the positions of the USSR and Britain on the basis of London's recognition of the principle of movement toward the minimum threshold of "nuclear deterrence". Certainly, provided the main and long-term goals of nuclear disarmament are preserved that is building a nuclear weapons-free world in which inter-state relations would be regulated by the force of reason rather than the force of arms.

Rogachev Receives French Ambassador 20 Jul

PM0208172589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Jul 89 Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 20 July, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Jean-Marie Merillon, French ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request and discussed with him some questions connected with preparations for the international conference on Cambodia in Paris whose opening is planned for 30 July.

Supreme Soviet Receives French Senators

PM0208173189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To Know Each Other Better"]

[Text] Our main interest is perestroyka in the Soviet Union; we want to expand and deepen our knowledge about it. J. Lecanuet, head of a delegation from the French Senate Commission on Foreign Affairs, Defense, and the Armed Forces, said this at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 20 July. The guests were received by the leadership and members of the International Affairs Committee and the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions.

Introducing the senators accompanying him, the delegation head stressed that in spite of the diversity of the French political spectrum represented by them, including the French Communist Party, they are all united by their friendly attitude to the Soviet Union. He particularly singled out Senator A. Jarrot, a veteran of World War II and participant in one of the allied naval convoys that transported freight from Britain to Murmansk for the battling Soviet Army.

A.S. Dzasokhov, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, talked about the implementation of political reform in the Soviet Union, using the examples of the elections to the country's supreme organ of state power and the work of the Congress of People's Deputies.

The delegation members asked many questions concerning different aspects of perestroyka. In particular, they were interested in the conversion of military production. Thorough and profound answers were provided by the Soviet participants in the conversation, among whom, for example, were Academician Ye.P. Velikhov, Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, and Cosmonaut-Test Pilot S.Ye. Savitskaya.

A luncheon was given in the delegation's honor on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee and the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions.

The delegation visited the USSR Foreign Ministry the same day. At the French guests' request, Deputy Minister V.P. Karpov informed them of Soviet assessments of the state of affairs at the talks on various areas of disarmament.

Latin America & Caribbean

Government Greets Cuba's Castro on National Day

PM2707133989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 July 89 p 1 Second Edition

[Message from the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers to Fidel Castro on the Moncada anniversary]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have issued a message to Comrade Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and president of the Councils of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, which says textually:

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro,
On the occasion of the glorious day commemorating the national revolution, we send to you, the PCC Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, and to the brother people of Cuba, our ardent greetings and very best best wishes.

The feat of courageous patriots—the assault on the Moncada Barracks—constituted a historic milestone in the struggle, of many years, of the people of Cuba for their liberation which opened the path for the triumph of the Revolution and the progress of the country to socialism.

We, the Soviets, are sincerely happy about the achievements attained by the Cuban workers under the direction of the PCC in the various sectors of economy, science, and culture.

The message to our Commander in Chief Fidel Castro from the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR adds:

The Republic of Cuba enjoys a deserved prestige in the international arena and is making a great contribution to the unblocking of tension areas, the strengthening of universal security, and the establishment of a new world economic order.

Our parties and peoples are united by strong friendship ties which have passed the test of time. The Soviet-Cuban Summit held in April 1989 in Havana and the signing of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between the USSR and Cuba gave new impetus to bilateral relations.

By resolving tasks to make the greatest use of the creative potential of socialism, and taking into consideration the national peculiarities of each country, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba are working toward the same objective. They also guide themselves by common ideals.

By attributing great importance to the development of Soviet-Cuban relations, we continue creating the necessary premises for the further increase in the efficiency of bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, and spiritual spheres; we also continue acting in the interests of establishing the new political mentality in international affairs.

We wish you, dear Comrade Fidel Castro, and all the Cuban people, great success in building socialism. Happiness, prosperity, and peace.

The CPSU Central Committee,
The USSR Supreme Soviet,
The USSR Council of Ministers.
The Kremlin

Communist Party of Chile Releases Declaration

PY0308000189 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Chile released the following public declaration yesterday:

The result of the plebiciste held yesterday is a clear indication that the large majority of Chileans demand democracy and freedom and reject the 1980 Constitution.

An important percentage of Chilean—1 million citizens—either voted against the constitutional reforms, voted blank, or abstained. That percentage is almost three times higher than the similar figures for the 5 October plebiscite. The people responded in general terms to the call made by the more intransigent democratic sectors. In this way they rejected the illegitimate and antidemocratic nature of the 1980 Constitution and they stood up for the people's rights.

The people responded despite the facts that those sectors did not have television advertising and that some of the radio announcements were even censored by some democratic radio stations. It should be noted that the majority of the people who approved the constitutional reforms support deeper changes in the current Constitution. Those changes are expressed in the new reforms which the coalition of political parties is proposing to carry out in the next democratic government. In other words, the people who did not approve the reforms, and the large majority who approved them despite the fact that they considered them insufficient, advocate a new constitution for a real democracy.

The speech delivered by Pinochet confirms what the Communists have been saying. The dictator wants to take advantage of the results by saying that the population has ratified his Constitution. Pinochet wants to show himself as the man of agreement and dialogue—as if the Chilean people do not know him well. He even went further by saying that the vote expressed support for the 1973 coup. What is even worse, Pinochet took this opportunity to reiterate his seditious threats as a warning to the Chilean people against implementing the necessary democratic changes desired by the large majority of the population.

Another part the declaration refers to the attitude of a sector of the opposition that freely gave this oportunity to the dictator. The apathy and lack of enthusiasm shown by the people in this plebiscite reflect the degree of misinformation among the large majority of voters. This same majority, however, is aware that the task of democratizing the country is pending and that it will have to be carried out by the next democratic government.

We call on all Chileans who voted in one way or another in this plebiscite with the hope of putting an end to the dictatorship to double their efforts to insure the victory of the democratic forces on 14 December. We call for an increasing mobilization for the rights of every individual and in support for the democratic candidates for president and congressmen. Signed: Jose Sanfuentes, Jaime Inzunza, and Mireya Baltra. Santiago, 31 July 1989.

Political & Social

Foreign Ministry Condemns Higgins Execution

LD0208180289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1658 GMT 2 Aug 89

["USSR Foreign Ministry Statement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Aug (TASS)—We are transmitting the text of the statement:

In the last few days, there has been a fresh exacerbation of the situation in Lebanon and around it as a result of violent, inhumane actions involving human casualties.

The execution has become known of U.S. Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, a UN military observer, who was seized in Lebanon as a hostage. Soviet people share the sense of sorrow and grief of his family and loved ones.

The Soviet Union resolutely opposes the blatant flouting of human rights as well as terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. There can be no justification for any act of terror or kidnapping of people, and especially of violence against them.

The Soviet Union firmly advocates effective international measures aimed at preventing such criminal acts, and the immediate release of all current hostages and kidnapped persons wherever and by whomsoever they may be held. The UN Security Council resolution on this question, which was adopted unanimously on 31 July and in the drafting of which the Soviet Union took an active part, was a timely and responsible step. The USSR will work energetically for its implementation.

Violence engenders violence. Israel could not have been unaware of this when it organized the operation to kidnap from Lebanon Shaykh 'Ubayd, one of the Shiite community's most eminent figures. For the umpteenth time, Israel, counting on being able to carry out its reckless adventurist actions with impunity, is creating a situation that threatens new explosions.

The situation that has arisen is all the more lamentable because for a long period, as far as is known, contacts have been in progress regarding the hostages in Lebanon and hope had emerged of elucidating their fate.

It is essential to make an immediate break in the chain of acts of violence. Emotions must not be allowed to prevail over reason. The USSR is convinced that what is required from everyone interested in a just settlement of the Lebanese problem is complete self-control, composure, and restraint. Otherwise, the development of the situation in Lebanon will take on an even more dangerous nature and the efforts being undertaken by the Arab League, with the support of the international community, aimed at stopping the bloodshed in that country and helping the Lebanese to restore national accord along the paths of constructive political dialogue will be canceled out.

Neither can an escalation of violence be allowed because this would jam the accelerating process of unblocking the Arab-Israeli conflict and of moving it onto the path of specific, practical steps. What the situation requires is for the energy of all the participants in the Middle Eastern events to be directed into the chanel of positive actions. This is what the USSR will promote by all possible means.

Supreme Soviet 2 Aug Proceedings Highlighted

Trade Union Leader Gives Speech

LD0208230989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1543 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Speech by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council Of Trade Unions, at Supreme Soviet afternoon session on 2 August—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade people's deputies. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] and the USSR Council of Ministers submit for your examination a draft USSR law on the procedure for settling collective labor disputes with the alterations and additions proposed by the representatives of a number of committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and commissions of the chambers.

The need to adopt such a law is dictated by life itself and by the demands of many labor collectives. Collective labor disputes and conflicts existed in the past, but starting from last year and especially of late they have increasingly begun growing into strikes. It should be noted that there have been and still are good reasons for such extreme measures of expressing the protests of the working class. These reasons are primarily the slowness in practice of resolving issues of extending the independence of enterprises, their continuing lack of economic and juridical rights, and the impossibility of disposing of the resources they have earned. They also include the crude violations of the existing regulations on payment for work, including work on night shifts, shortcomings committed in transferring workers to new wage rates, delays in paying wages in many cases and in many regions, violations of the set working times and leisure time, unsatisfactory working conditions, the neglected social sphere, the nonfulfillment on these and other issues of collective contracts and sectoral agreements.

Many promises made by heads of enterprises, ministries, and departments, local soviet, economic, and trade union bodies to examine the specific demands of collectives and the working people, as a rule, did not contain any specific timescale or guarantees on settling disputed questions. Conditions were created for social tension.

In such conditions the workers were forced to resort to strikes as the final means to force people to examine and satisfy their legitimate demands.

In principle, strikes are not forbidden in our country. In 1974 the USSR ratified the international pact on economic, social, and cultural rights in which—I quote—states undertake the obligation to ensure the right to strike provided it is implemented in accordance with the law of each country. In accordance with the law of each country. But to date we have not had any such law. A decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium establishes only the procedure for examining labor disputes of individual blue- and white-collar workers. In accordance with this decree, as is known, commissions on labor disputes are set up at enterprises on which the trade union committee and the administration are represented on an equal basis. If the worker is not satisfied with its decision the conflict is examined by the trade union committee and its decision is obligatory for the administration. Last year in 99 percent of cases in which workers turned to the commission on labor disputes or to the trade union committee, their labor disputes were decided in favor of the workers.

As far as concerns collective—and I stress collective—labor disputes, even the very concept of such a type of conflict is absent from our state legislative acts even though they do exist, as is known, and they are increasing. That is why a year ago the trade unions, at the third plenum of the AUCCTU, firmly supported the necessity of legislatively determining the procedure for settling collective labor disputes.

By the way, comrade deputies, as the saying goes, we are not inventing the wheel here. Laws and procedures on this issue have long been adopted in many foreign countries and also in a number of socialist countries. In preparing the draft law which has been presented to you use has been made of foreign experience, and now even our own experience.

Allow me to dwell on the main features of the draft law. First of all, Article 1 of the draft law defines precisely what can be the subject of a collective labor dispute and who should examine and tackle this dispute. For the first time in our legislative practice it is proposed to create for this purpose a conciliation commission and labor arbitration bodies. This is fully in accord with the recommendations of the International Labor Organization and foreign experience.

Articles 2 and 3 of the draft law propose ways to determine the procedure for forming conciliation commissions at enterprises, organizations, and institutions and the procedure for their work. It is proposed that strict timetables should be introduced for examining disputes. They should not exceed 5 days. If a settlement of the dispute is not achieved in the conciliation commissions, the sides in the dispute, that is the trade union committee which represents the interests of the workers, or the administration has the right to appeal to the labor arbitration body set up specially under the supreme court of a union republic which is not divided into oblasts, of an autonomous republic, under kray, oblast, and town courts. The procedure for the formation and work of the labor arbitration body is set out in Article 4 of the draft law.

I would like to stress that the procedure proposed in the draft for examining collective disputes is aimed at settling them in a timely, urgent, and organized manner in accordance with the existing legislation. The sides which are in dispute and the conciliation commission are obliged to make use of all possibilities to remove the reasons and conditions which have caused the collective labor dispute.

It is also proposed that during the established time frame, which as you see is very strict, for examining and settling the collective dispute the work of the enterprise, organization, and institution should not cease. In those cases when the sides still fail to settle their differences, we request that the USSR Supreme Soviet give the labor collective the right—this is noted in Article 5 of the draft law—to give the labor collective the right to use, in order to achieve the satisfaction of their demands, all other means envisaged by the law, including strikes.

Of course, comrade deputies, strikes are an extreme and undesirable measure for settling labor disputes. They cause, and they have already caused, great harm to the labor collectives themselves, particularly those which are financially autonomous and self-financing, and to the national economy as a whole and to the whole of our society. However, the AUCCTU is convinced that the labor collective and the trade committee should have the right to declare a strike. It should be done on the decision of the majority of the labor collective in those cases when the administration, the higher management body, does not fulfill an accord which has been reached, a decision of the conciliation commission or labour arbitration body, or else violates the procedure established by the present law for examining disputes.

At the same time, in preparing the draft law we proceeded from the consideration that a work stoppage should not be allowed if this creates a threat to the life and health of people, to the provision of normal living conditions for the population, or ensuring the defense and security of the country. Article 8 of the draft law is devoted to this issue. It is envisaged that the list of enterprises, institutions, and organizations in which strikes are not allowed will be confirmed by the legislative bodies of the country and the union republics. Of course, it is primarily a matter of those enterprises which supply the population with foodstuffs, water, electricity, heating, and gas. It is a matter of public health institutions directly connected with the treatment and care of patients, dispensaries, public transportation, and also some other plants where stoppages could lead to difficult and dangerous consequences—although the proposed rules and procedure for settling collective labor disputes which I spoke of a little earlier are fully applicable to all of these collectives.

Article 9 of the draft law sets out other conditions in which strikes are declared illegal and are not permitted. Similar restrictions on using strikes have been established by the legislation of many countries.

Comrade deputies, I would like to call your attention to Article 11 of the draft law where the establishing of a procedure for ensuring material provision for strike participants is proposed. The AUCCTU favors the variant set out on page six in the draft which has been distributed to you, that is, for a worker taking part in a strike being paid a proportion of his wages by the enterpise and not from an insurance fund created by the workers themselves. In many foreign countries, payment for days on strike is, indeed, made by the trade unions from special strike funds which they have set up, and this option is also possible. But we proceed from the consideration that as the administration or other state or economic bodies are to blame for the fact that the labor conflict has not been settled in good time they are obliged to bear the corresponding expenditure. That is logical: It is your fault, so you pay.

To conclude my speech, I would like once more to stress the exceptional importance of the USSR law on the examination of collective labor disputes in creating guaranteed protection of the legitimate interests of the working people and strengthening law and order and discipline in the country, and with regard to creating the conditions for the normal functioning of our whole national economy. Thank you. I have finished.

Debate on Draft Strike Law Continues

LD0208140189 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

A draft law on the order of settling labour disputes submitted today for the consideration of the USSR Supreme Soviet session could also be described as the law on strikes.

However, the Soviet Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions that submitted it preferred a more accurate wording.

Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, set forth the draft law in his report. He said that collective labour conflicts had also taken place in the country before. Now, however, they began to take the form of strikes. Speaking about the causes of this extreme measure, he mentioned the dragging out of the solution of problems connected with the economic independence of industrial enterprises, their lack of economic and legal rights, separate cases when regulations on wages were grossly violated, as well as serious problems accumulated in the social sphere.

In principle, strikes are not banned in the USSR. Shalayev recalled that the USSR had ratified in 1974 an international pact on economic, social and cultural rights. It envisages the right to strikes, provided it is exercised in accordance with the law of each specific country. However, the USSR did not have a law on strikes.

Shalayev said that for the first time in the legal practices of the Soviet Union it was proposed to set up conciliation commissions and labour arbitration bodies. Conciliation commissions will be based on the principle of equality of the conflicting parties. Disputes are to be examined there in five days. If a mutually acceptable solution has not been worked out or if the agreement reached is not fulfilled, the conflicting parties will have the right to appeal to a labour arbitration body set up at the supreme court of the union and autonomous republics, at the regional and city courts. The arbitration body should decide the matter in ten days. Its decision will be obligatory for fulfilment.

If the conflicting parties still fail to settle their differences, a labour collective will be given the right to use all other methods envisaged by the law, including a strike. However, this can be done on the decision of the majority of the labour collective.

The draft law does not permit work stoppages if they create a threat to people's lives and health, to the ensurance of a normal life of the population, of the country's defence and security. A list of enterprises and organisations at which strikes are forbidden should be endorsed by the legislative body of the country and the union republics.

The draft law provides for the payment of part of the wages to workers taking part in a strike at the expense of the enterprise and not from the insurance fund created by workers themselves.

Deputies asked Shalayev numerous questions concerning the draft law. Not in all cases he gave a clear and complete answer. More often than not he answered: "Yes, this article of the draft law was not studied well enough, it should be corrected," or "I agreed with deputies that this provision should be specified." The thing is that authors of the draft law proceeded from a traditional assumption of the conflicting interests of a labour collective and the management. However, the emergence of lease-holding and other relations changes the character of property, and, consequently, changes the nature of this conflict. Besides, the draft law does not take into account the setting up of strike committees and other bodies which can lead a labour dispute or a strike.

Deputies will continue the discussion in the evening.

Deputies Endorse Draft Strike Law

LD0208170189 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The word "unprecedented" has been used on many occasions at the first session of the new Soviet parliament. It was also heard at today' discussion of the draft law on the procedure for solving collective labour disputes, unofficially known as law on strikes. The draft was submitted by Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions. This is the country's first such law, which became necessary after recent strikes.

The document got a mixed reaction from the deputies. Even Soviet Justice Minister Veniamin Yakovlev, who spoke at the discussion, raised several issues, to which he could not see answers so far. Small wonder, lay deputies had even more questions.

Most deputies stressed that every man should have a right to voice his protest, even in such extreme forms a strike, in a state ruled by law. However, a different view was held by deputy Alim Chabanov, the general director of one of the Ukrainian production associations. Since a Soviet enterprise is economically independent under the recent law and the labour collectives elects the director itself, he said, the labour collective should simply reelect the director if he is found wanting, instead of striking to the prejudice of the enterprise and the national economy. Deputy Chabanov regarded the strikes as totally unacceptable for socialism. He, however, was not backed by deputies.

Yuriy Kalmykov, a deputy chairman of the Committee on Legislation, Law and Order, stressed that the law built upon the conciliation procedure recommended by the international organisation of labour in 1951. The procedure makes it possible to solve problems through a conciliation commission or arbitration in order to prevent strikes.

It was suggested during the debates, in particular, to establish that the right to suspend a strike belongs only to the Supreme Soviet or a union republic and not to the government or local bodies of government, as is envisaged by the proposed draft. The decision to suspend a strike can be taken only in exceptional cases when they threaten national security. The deputies also demanded that branches where strikes are prohibited should be defined more clearly.

After the heated discussion the session endorsed the provisions of the law in first reading and decided to publish it in the newspaper IZVESTIYA for discussion by the public. After proposals are taken account of, it would be submitted for consideration at the autumn session of the parliament.

Resolution on Draft Strike Law Published

PM0308101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On the Draft USSR Law on Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes'"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To approve at first reading the basic provisions of the draft USSR Law on Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes and to publish the elaborated [utochnennyy] draft in the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

To instruct the Soviet of the Union Commission for for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy and the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, jointly with other committees and permanent commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers and with participation by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the USSR Council of Ministers, to finalize the draft in question taking into account proposals and remarks made by USSR people's deputies, and to submit it for the USSR Supreme Soviet's examination by 1 October 1989.

2. To approve the proposal of USSR People's Deputies A.V. Grib, V.A. Opolinskiy, A.I. Baranov, A.M. Shamikhin, A.I. Chabanov, S.M. Katilevskiy, Yu.Ye. Burykh, and of other deputies who are production workers on the suspension of strikes as an extreme method for resolving collective labor disputes until such time as the USSR law on the procedure for resolving such disputes is adopted and comes into force.

3. To call upon all labor collectives in the country to support the proposal by production worker deputies, to strengthen labor discipline, to be more demanding of leaders of enterprises, organizations, ministries, and departments as regards the latter's responsibility, and to assist to the utmost the consolidation of Soviet society for the solution of the tasks of perestroyka and the renewal of all aspects of state and social life.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Moscow, The Kremlin, 2 August 1989.

Cooperative Taxing Decree Endorsed

LD0208201789 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—by TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Deputies of the Soviet parliament started discussing today the draft of the USSR's first law on settling labour disputes, in other words strikes. The need for the urgent passage of such legislation became especially obvious after a wave of strikes swept the country's coal-mining regions in July.

The draft builds on a conciliation procedure recommended by the international labour organisation. It enables to prevent a strike by settling disputes through a conciliation commission or arbitration. In cases when the sides fail to settle differences, the law gives a labour collective the right to strike.

As a result of the discussion a decision was taken to approve the main provisions of the law in the first reading and revise it with account taken of today's proposals and remarks. after that it will be published in the central newspaper IZVESTIYA and submitted for consideration by the autumn session of the Soviet parliament.

After numerous revisions a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on taxing cooperatives was endorsed today. Its discussion started last week and continued on Monday [31 July]. During the discussion different, at times diametrically opposite, views were expressed reflecting a complex and unequivocal attitude of the population to the cooperative movement. As a result, a decision was taken to levy taxes only on profits and exempt those sums which are used to develop fixed assets, train personnel and protect the environment. Taxes on cooperative businesses in production and building were limited to 35 per cent of their earnings and to 25 per cent if they charged state prices. The size of taxes on trade and mediation cooperatives, whose activity is most criticised by the population, is determined by union republics. Cooperatives employing disabled people, pensioners or students enjoy privileges.

Also discussed at today's meeting was a draft resolution on facilitating the work of USSR people's deputies. According to Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities (one of the chambers of the parliament), the upkeep of the current Supreme Soviet will cost the state roughly 40 million roubles a year as against 7 million roubles spent on the former parliament. The draft envisages a monthly allowance of 200 roubles for all USSR people's deputies to cover expenditures connected with the deputies' activity, and 500 roubles for the Supreme Soviet members. In the course of the discussion it was decided to revise the draft.

Tomorrow the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will continue its work.

Draft on Deputies' Activity Discussed

LD0208103689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Over to the correspondents' center of All-Union Radio in the Kremlin. Marina Novitskaya is at the microphone.

[Novitskaya] The deputies have devoted today's entire morning session to discussing a draft resolution on providing for the activity of USSR people's deputies. Do not think that this time is being wasted; it is not such a simple issue as it appears. The effectiveness of a deputy's work will, after all, depend on the material and technical support that is provided for it. One can hardly consider as normal a situation whereby the deputy is deprived of access to necessary information and must literally beg the local soviet for transport in order to go out to the voters or to attend to their business.

Much of the resolution was agreed on, but some of the clauses gave rise to objections from the deputies. It was decided by a vote to postpone the draft resolution, to analyze all the proposals, and to take them into account.

The afternoon session began with a discussion of the draft USSR law on procedures for resolving collective labor disputes. People's Deputy Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], is now delivering a report on this matter. The need to adopt such a law, he said, has been engendered by life itself. There are reasons for what the AUCCTU chairman considers such an extreme form—the strike. These are procrastinations in providing economic independence for enterprises, the impossibility of collectives themselves disposing of the funds which they earn, and many local social problems which have to do with supply, health care, communal services, and so on. In our country, strikes are not forbidden. Nevertheless, up until now our legislation has not included the concept of collective labor disputes. Now, for the first time, it is proposed that such a law be adopted.

Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev stressed that this draft law proposes, also for the first time, that reconciliation commission and state arbitration bodies be set up. These are completely new bodies that will be formed at enterprises and that will examine collective labor disputes within a time frame of 5 days. If an agreement is not achieved at the reconciliation commission, or if its decision is not carried out, the sides have the right to apply to the state arbitration body.

There are many other very important clauses here, but as I have said the report is still continuing, and I hope to acquaint you with the details in other news bulletins. For the moment, I conclude my report from the Kremlin.

Pay for Deputies Debated

LD0208122289 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

As the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is about to wind up (it is expected to conclude at the end of this week), members of parliament started discussing the resolution on ways to facilitate work of USSR people's deputies. The document regulates the deputies' main expenditure items with the aim of creating necessary conditions to better organise their work.

It should be recalled that the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies pointed to the need for the earliest passage of a relevant comprehensive law. Presenting the draft resolution today, Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, explained that endorsing the law in full in the current socio-political situation in the country, when many issues of improving the conditions of life of the low-income sections of the population remain unsolved, "would be premature and could be wrongly understood." Therefore the resolution contains only those sections of the law under preparation which are urgently needed to ensure the deputies' normal work.

In particular, the draft resolution provides for paying a monthly allowance of 200 roubles to all people's deputies of the USSR to cover expenditures connected with their activity, and 500 roubles to members of parliament who will work on a full time basis. Replying to a deputy inquiry, Nishanov said that the upkeep of the former Supreme Soviet cost the state 7 million roubles, while the current Supreme Soviet is estimated to cost approximately 40 million roubles a year.

Prior to the adoption of the resolution, which was earlier discussed in commissions and committees of the parliament, there was a keen debate on many of its provisions. Many deputies stressed that facilitating their activity is a political issue, because the status of a deputy largely determines the measure of people's trust in the country's new election system. In this regard the need was stressed to increase allowances for people's deputies and members of parliament.

Deputy Vadim Nikolaychuk, of the polar city of Norilsk, even cited figures which showed that the budget of the legislature was meager in comparison with the cost of maintaining the apparatus of ministries and departments. "We have cheap health service, cheap education, cheap housing, cheap labour and the world's least expensive people's deputies. As long as the upkeep of deputies will be the cheapest, we will have the most expensive life. No other force, except for the people's money. Therefore the most effective investment is the one made into a people's deputy," he declared.

More than two hours of discussing the draft resolution revealed diverging opinions among deputies on some of its provisions. It was decided by the majority of votes to refer the draft to the committee in charge of the work of the councils of people's deputies, the development of management and self-management for revision on the basis of consensus and enlisting the services of the deputies who proposed amendments to the document today. The resolution will be probably put to vote at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet tomorrow.

Deputies Cited on Work

LD0208175689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Commentator Igor Zorin report from the 2 August USSR Supreme Soviet session held in the Moscow Kremlin]

[Excerpts] Hello, esteemed comrades. Today the Supreme Soviet session has already been working according to the agenda for 4 hours. The morning sitting was opened by Comrade Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union. He put forward for discussion a draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The draft is called "On the provision of the activity of the people's deputies of our country." Comrade Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, delivered a report on that. He spoke of payments for people's deputies and of members of the Supreme Soviet, secretaries and aides of deputies, and deputies' guarantees once their term of office in the Supreme Soviet is up. [passage omitted]

The draft decisions on the whole evoked criticism from deputies, although the objections of the deputies differed on certain points. The debate was opened by Deputy Shcherbak, a writer. He said in particular:

[Begin Shcherbak recording] In my opinion, we should not limit ourselves to just the material side of the matter, no matter how important it is. Transportation and information provision are extremely important. In essence, if one speaks of the privileges of power, these are not material goods, often understood in a narrow-minded way, but the privilege of quick and efficient connections with the electorate, and complete information on the situation in the country from abroad. I will recall that quite recently our entire people, including many deputies of the Supreme Soviet of past convocations, were in conditions of an information blockade and were in blissful ignorance of the true significance abroad of the events taking place in the country.

I consider that USSR people's deputies must be provided with of course, primarily, means of communication, and a telephone is not a luxury but a necessity, and transportation too. And also, it is desirable to have fax machines and of course, ideally, it is necessary to have personal computers in order to have the opportunity to receive the latest information on the whole complex spectrum of current events. [passage omitted]

We must have alternative sources of information, including publications on the evaluations of official and unofficial organizations both inside the country and abroad. It is natural that we must also constantly know what is happening in the leadership of the country and where our president is. [passage omitted]

We must not have an inferiorty complex in everything that concerns information. And also very important here—and this has already been spoken of—is the creation under the Supreme Soviet of a group of advisers and experts on questions of the economy, history, politics, state construction and so forth, for advising USSR people's deputies on complex questions of implementing their duties and on the selection of relevant literature. [end recording]

Going up to the rostrum today, deputies objected to many points of the draft decision on providing for the activity of people's deputies. [passage omitted]

[Begin Sulakshin recording] Esteemed comrade deputies, I represent the 313th constituency and I am here with the right of a consultative voice. I think that many members of the Supreme Soviet do not see a certain danger in the draft which we, third-class deputies—and I want to say that now despite the fact that we are all being given an identical pass, that three classes of deputies have been formed: members of the Supreme Soviet, members of committees and commissions, and those who are not part of these bodies or of the Supreme Soviet—that is, in that draft, the circumstance which is taking place both in the committees and at the Supreme Soviet session is reflected in a documentary form. We have already heard leveled at us that we have no busisness in the constituency and that we are hanging about here.

We have already heard that committees claim that such and such is not a member of a committee. [passage omitted] [end recording]

The discussion continued for about 2 hours. It has been decided to pass that draft for additional examination to the relevant committee and then chairmen of the chambers and all deputies who want to will take part in that committee, and then to present the processed draft for confirmation by the present session.

After the break, deputies began to discuss the draft law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes. It has been worked out by the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU]. Comrade Shalayev delivered a report. He substantiated the need for the adoption of elaboration of that law. In particular he noted:

[Begin Shalayev recording] In principle, strikes are not banned in our country. [passage omitted]

In the preparation of the draft law which has been presented to you, foreign experience—and now already our own—has also been used. I would like to stress that the procedure for examining collective disputes proposed in the draft is directed at their timely, efficient, and organized solution in accordance with the existing legislation. [passage omitted] [end recording]

During the discussion of that draft in labor collectives, Deputy Grib from Zaporozhiye, a metallurgist by profession, proposed that strikes not be held.

The session will resume its work at 1600.

1 Aug Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

Benefits, Pensions Discussed

LD0108163589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service at 1400 GMT on 1 August broadcasts a recorded relay of the 1 August sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session held in the Moscow Kremlin.

At 1400 GMT the session is intercepted in progress with an unidentified deputy talking at length about benefits, pensions, etc.

At 1410 GMT Gorbachev gives the floor to Bosenko, who speaks about veterans, low pensions of collective farmers, extra pensions for World War II veterans, benefits for Afghans, and charity. He appeals to the nation to look after the dispossessed.

At 1422 GMT Gorbachev calls on woman Deputy Matviyenko to speak. She asks for help for children handicapped from birth. They should get more money, she says.

At 1428 GMT Gorbachev invites Gorinov to speak. He speaks on collective farmers' pensions and pensions for ex-servicemen. He calls for more pay for social insurance workers.

At 1435 GMT Gorbachev invites Tsybukh to speak. He talks further about pensions. He says unemployment is a reality. Six million jobless and uneducated children live in Central Asia. He asks about the 1920's decree on employment and says student grants of R50 are too small. He notes strikes and ethnic conflict, saying many young people are taking part in these troubles. He speaks about the problems of young people such as housing, jobs, crime, and says that something must be done to help them.

At 1435 GMT Arutyunyan, a woman deputy, speaks on women's organizations, the need for more pensions for the old. The church should think about the old, she says. She asks: What about charity? The population of the third age need to be thought of not in terms of charity but of social justice.

At 1447 GMT Ivanov speaks on World War II veterans and defenders of Leningrad. He calls for more care for the older generation.

At 1453 GMT Gorbachev says there is little time. A man asks about the dispossessed and the repressed. There is a vote in favor of ending the debate.

At 1458 GMT Pavlov, whose speech was received in progress at the beginning of the relay, continues talking about pensions and provisions for victims of Stalin repressions. Cooperatives' tax will pay for extra pensions, he says: A woman asks about the Afghans, and Pavlov says they will get help but they will not have the same status as World War II veterans. He says the questions of soldiers who died not of wounds but of disease in the USSR are not yet solved. This question is under consideration, because people do tend to die of disease in a tropical climate.

At 1509 GMT Gorbachev says this should be settled in the committees. He asks if all the written questions have been answered. Pavlov says practically all have been answered. Two men of Mongoloid appearance want to talk about a huge region from Murmansk to the Far East but are not allowed to.

At 1512 GMT Gorbachev says a number of named deputies have asked for change in the Law on Enterprises and proposes Abalkin should work on the proposed changes, which is agreed.

At 1515 GMT Medvedev talks about a commission to examine crimes involving cotton.

At 1518 GMT Gorbachev announces a 20-minute break.

At 1520 GMT after the break, Gorbachev speaks on the results of his trips abroad.

Gorbachev's Foreign Visits Approved

LD0108193889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues its recorded relay of the 1 August sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session held in the Moscow Kremlin.

At 1600 GMT Gorbachev continues his speech

At 1613 GMT Gorbachev answers questions put to him by various deputies. Sazonov makes a brief statement about Soviet foreign policy being aimed against confrontation and praising Gorbachev's Strasbourg speech and the message to the U.S. Congress. Nishanov makes procedural announcements.

At 1648 GMT the deputies vote to approve the results of Gorbachev's foreign visits. The results are approved.

At 1650 GMT Lieutenant Colonel Petrushenko speaks on the draft message to the U.S. Congress. He says the message is an embodiment of people's diplomacy and thinks some amendments to the draft are necessary. The USSR is concerned about proliferation of nuclear weapons and the SDI program, he notes. According to what has been published in the press, the Soviet Union lags behind the United States in the star wars sphere, and there is concern that the United States should not gain unilateral advantages in this sphere, Petrushenko says. He adds that information regarding these issues would be desirable.

At 1656 GMT Zasokhov begins to speak. He recalls Suleymenov's idea that the USSR should make its position known with regard to underground nuclear testing. He says a document on this is in the works and will be sent to the U.S. Congress before its holidays to help the Geneva negotiations. Gorbachev adds that nuclear testing moratorium is a key issue, noting the USSR adhered to its unilateral moratorium for 18 months. He says the situation in the world is now such that it is possible to return to this topic—a bilateral moratorium would have far-reaching consequences.

At 1702 GMT Velikhov begins to speak. He favors a test ban and non-proliferation accords.

At 1704 GMT a speaker begins to speak without introducing himself. He says nuclear weapons are not merely policy instruments—they are a means for the destruction of mankind. Scientists, he says, should help us determine to what extent nuclear blasts for scientific purposes can be militarily circumvented.

At 1706 GMT a vote is held on the draft message to congress. It is passed.

At 1707 GMT Pavlov begins to speak. Plan, budget, and financial commissions and other commissions ask the Supreme Soviet to pass the draft law presented to it earlier. Amendments are proposed to increase benefits for invalids from R40 to R70. Other amendments regarding regional variations to pensions are outlined. It is said that internationalists-soldiers should benefit from the same benefits from which great fatherland war veterans already benefit—all this is to be examined in connection with the draft law on pensions currently being elaborated.

At 1714 GMT various deputies ask questions about who else will benefit from pensions. It is said that widows of veterans who died after the war due to their injuries will get pensions. Asked about benefits for families with many children, Pavlov says this is without the scope of the draft law on pensions. The previous speaker says there should be a law on benefits for all those who are hard-up. Another speaker says that innocent victims of Stalin and their families should also benefit from state aid. Pavlov says this issue is still under examination. Asked whether it will be index-linked, Pavlov says index-linking will be discussed. He is asked how to solve the issue of supplying foodstuffs to pensioners—food is expensive and their pensions are small. Pavlov says the Supreme Soviet and its commissions should ask local authorities to deal with provision of food for pensioners. Someone asks about the unemployed who have reached pensionable age—what, if anything, will they get? Pavlov wonders how they make ends meet for such a long time—25 years for men, 20 for women, but notes the unemployed get some benefits. Korshunov says the draft law should pass now and amendments should be compiled and debated during the autumn session—30,000,000 pensioners are waiting for this.

Veteran Benefits Debated

LD0108201689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues its recorded relay of the 1 August sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session held in the Moscow Kremlin.

At 1727 GMT an unidentified speaker says that along with Stalin's victims, those who survived the blockade of Leningrad, and the internationalist-soldiers, we should make sure that Chernobyl victims, likewise, benefit from the draft law on pensions.

At 1729 GMT All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] deputy from Minsk says that Afghan veterans find it hard to benefit from what has already been made available for them. He says the Congress of People's Deputies wanted them to have wide benefits, to have parity with the war veterans—but war veterans had to wait for their benefits for 40 years. He asks if Afghan veterans must also wait 40 years to have benefits. The authorities, says Shitko, should be made answerable for invading Afghanistan.

At 1735 GMT Gorbachev asks that results of examination of this issue should be made available to the Supreme Soviet.

At 1736 GMT an unidentified deputy representing labor committee lists the benefits for Afghan veterans. They get R160 a month as against the R70 average elsewhere. He says the invalids should get tax benefits, but young, able-bodied veterans should not. These should not be compared with the war veterans, who are old people, he says.

At 1740 GMT Deputy Gritsenko says the draft law on pensions should not be delayed any further. All other issues must be examined attentively and reflected in the next plan and budget, he says. He calls for examination of sources of financing—for instance, the introduction of tobacco tax.

At 1744 GMT an unidentified Lieutenant Colonel says veterans of other conflicts—Hungary 1956, Czechsolovakia 1968, Korea, Angola, etc.—must not be forgotten.

At 1745 GMT an Afghan veteran says the state must fulfill its duty to people who fulfilled their duties to the state. He demands for Afghan veterans parity with World War II veterans. The Council of Ministers' decisions are practically ineffective, he says. He proposes asking, Comrade Pavlov from the Ministry of Finance how much more money is needed.

At 1749 GMT Gorbachev suggests concluding the proceedings.

At 1750 GMT Vorontsov says that there are 50 military translators who took part in the war in Spain and they should also benefit from state aid.

At 1751 GMT Gorbachev says there is no doubt that Afghan veterans fulfilled their duty honestly. The Supreme Soviet must make its position known in this field.

At 1752 GMT an unidentified deputy says mass media must not confuse the issue: There is a difference between Afghan veterans and those who ordered the invasion.

At 1753 GMT Gorbachev says that by the next session on 1 October all these issues must be elaborated. Medicines and free transport for Afghan veterans must be discussed forthwith, he says, and calls for new sources of financing for this.

At 1755 GMT Ryzhkov says increase in pensions and additional sources of financing are an issue on which the government has been working and proposes examing all issues raised today by october.

At 1757 GMT Gorbachev says there are some differences in the hall regarding Ryzhkov's proposal. There is a vote in the chambers: The Soviet of the Union votes first—the law is passed without opposition. The Soviet of Nationalities votes next—no votes against and no abstentions. The law is passed unanimously.

At 1800 GMT the relay ends.

31 Jul Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

PM0208132789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Aug 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet's First Session"; the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 August First Edition contained a longer version of this report, and the additional passages from that version are included between brackets in the text below]

[Text] The sharp debate as part of the discussion of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 23 February 1989 decree "On Cooperatives' Income Tax Liability" was resumed in the Supreme Soviet sittings hall at 1000 on 31 July at the joint sitting of the chambers with A.I. Lukyanov in the chair.

Deputy M.L. Bronshteyn voiced the assumption that this decree, not being part of the finely tuned system of legislative acts, will actually hit the civilized cooperative members in particular. Using the activity of one cooperative as example, the deputy proved that high tax rates can often be attributed to local organs' desire to get as much money as possible out of cooperative members.

A cooperative is thus faced with the dilemma: either to disband itself or to effect an upward revision of its charge rates. This specific case concerned a cooperative building roads in Russia's Non-Chernozem Zone. [People work at rates set by the state. It is a different matter, according to the deputy, when the issue concerns sundry cooperatives whose prime concern is to boost their own incomes. This is why, he emphasized, the decree must be accompanied by a package of measures to protect cooperatives. It is necessary to set a limit to the income tax payable while waging a tougher struggle against trends toward speculation and mafia-style activities in the cooperative sphere.]

Having reported on the course of discussions of the decree in commissions and committees, Deputy N.N. Gritsenko voiced a series of specific proposals. He believes that it is necessary to establish a procedure whereby income tax payments into the budget would be made out of a single labor remuneration and social and cultural development fund. The maximum amount of tax payable, in his opinion, should not exceed the average norm for state budget deductions payable by state enterprises and consumer cooperative enterprises engaged in similar activities.

[The deputy proposed that a number of cooperatives be altogether relieved of liability to pay tax in the first years of their activity. He specifically had in mind cooperatives providing care for children and the elderly. On the other hand, the deputy believes, it is necessary to set a maximum amount of tax payable by some cooperatives, and it is also necessary to impose stiffer fines on cooperatives which try to conceal their revenues. The deputy voiced a series of proposals to consolidate and develop the legislative foundation of taxation policy in the country.]

Deputy T.P. Buachidze proposed that cooperatives operating under the Soviet Culture Foundation be relieved from tax liability and that authority be given for such funds to be paid into the accounts of the Soviet Culture Foundation and its republican branches.

The cooperative movement idea as such is positive, Deputy V.N. Stepanov noted, but the reality is different. He sharply criticized the Law on the Cooperative Movement and proposed that it be reviewed. It is necessary, the speaker said, to make cooperatives completely equal with state enterprises as regards purchases of raw and other materials, as well as in terms of price formation, taxation, and monitoring by state organs. [It is necessary to impose a labor resources tax on cooperatives and to reduce the amount of tax payable by consumer cooperatives.]

It must be frankly admitted, Deputy I.A. Zabrodin said, that the idea underlying the Law on the Cooperative Movement has not been implemented. The population's hopes that the market's needs for goods and services in short supply would be fully met have not materialized. Evidence of this can be seen in the numerous complaints by voters.

[Serious alarm is caused by the situation regarding labor remuneration in cooperatives, the unjustifiably high incomes earned by many of them, and the low rates of tax payable. The speaker noted that some cooperative members earn inordinately high wages while cooperative members are openly exploiting hired labor. It is impossible to describe as normal a phenomenon whereby cooperatives channel the lion's share of income into labor remuneration, with considerably smaller amounts credited to development funds and the insurance fund.]

The speaker proposed that the decree be ratified. He believes that local authorities are better placed to perceive what cooperatives should be doing and how they should be taxed. Today it is more expedient to examine the question of setting maximum prices for goods produced by cooperatives rather than that of maximum amounts of tax payable.

Sober analysis, rather than emotions, is needed when examining the state of affairs in cooperatives, Deputy V.A. Tikhonov noted. He dwelled in detail on the tax calculation mechanism, noting that the tax is a tool of development. Incorrect decisions could lead to a situation whereby production cooperatives, including construction industry cooperatives which operate several times more efficiently than state enterprises, may disintegrate. [On the other hand those which are the target of the decree, with an element of speculative activity, would retain their incomes by joining the black economy. We do not have a professional tax inspectorate which could take account of the magnitude of the income and the magnitude of production overheads.]

The speaker believes that it is necessary to immediately work out a series of decisive measures to combat speculation, especially in food supplies. [It is necessary to step up the struggle against organized crime and racketeering. It is also necessary to wage a harsher struggle against state extortion.]

In Deputy Yu.T. Komarov's opinion, amendments to the Law on the Cooperative Movement should enshrine decisive support for production, construction industry, and other cooperatives working in line with state prices, and an equally decisive striving to eliminate conditions for speculation and the emergence of new Soviet millionaires on this basis. In order to achieve this, the speaker believes, it is necessary to create a regime offering most favored treatment to cooperatives operating in line with state prices: To let them enjoy the same conditions for material and technical supplies as similar state enterprises and to equalize the amount of tax payable. [As for any income earned by brokerage and trade-purchasing cooperatives through higher prices, it must be paid into local budgets in full.]

The preceding speaker's proposals were supported by Deputy N.I. Travkin. But we cannot stop, he emphasized, at measures to save just the cooperatives. We need serious elaborations to improve the entire economy's health. The main point is to achieve genuine autonomy for enterprises. There is an imperative necessity to do for the whole country that which is being done today for the miners. There is no point in just hoping that representatives of other sectors would be equally patient.

It is necessary to ensure that the tax system provides utmost help for the development of a civilized cooperative movement in the country, Deputy S.S. Alekseyev said. Therefore, we must not fight the cooperatives but help them as much as possible, elevating state enterprises to the level of cooperatives.

In the deputy's opinion, it is necessary to introduce corresponding amendments to republican decrees on cooperatives' tax liability.

Taxation policy toward cooperatives must be flexible, Deputy V.I. Kisin believes. Local soviets, he said, can temporarily reduce tax liability and even relieve some cooperatives from tax liability altogether, bearing the prices for their products in mind. Preference must be given to cooperatives operating at state rates.

[Speaking of the amendments which, in his opinion, the decree requires, the deputy emphasized that it is necessary to introduce without fail stiff penalties against cooperatives which resort to concealment of incomes.]

The speaker gave much attention to the Law on the Cooperative Movement, emphasizing that it contains a sufficiently large amount of monitoring features. But, the deputy believes, more concern must be shown for specific assistance to the cooperative sector. [Specifically, he said, the supply of everything cooperatives need must be done on the same basis as that enjoyed by the state sector.]

An extremely complex situation is developing in railroad transportation, Deputy A.N. Vasilets reported. An ultimatum has been issued, and a rigid deadline has been set—1 August. The majority of demands have something in common with the miners' demands, but one of them touches upon the topic under discussion. People criticize the difference between the way we would like cooperatives to be and the way they are in reality. This is due to shortcomings in the legislation. We have legalized speculation, and this is having a painful effect on working people's pockets. Engineers have put the question bluntly: Unless speculation is eradicated in the immediate future, the answer—and you know what sort of answer—would be forthcoming right away. The speaker addressed the country's railroad workers with a call to refrain from taking a fateful step because its consequences might be unpredictable.

Bearing cooperative members' opinion in mind, Deputy V.P. Lukin described the new tax liability system as contradicting the Law on the Cooperative Movement and called for cooperatives' guaranteed equality with state enterprises. The promulgation of the latest decrees, he noted, runs contrary to the very idea of the cooperative movement and is therefore impermissible. It is necessary to ensure benefits for cooperatives which make a real contribution toward the national economy's development and operate at state rates.

Today we are not talking simply about the decree's ratification, Deputy A.A. Sobchak opined, but about whether we are going to retain this new economic sector or ban it by means of this decree. The decree as such cannot resolve the question of economic equality between state and cooperative enterprises. This would require amendments to the Law on the Cooperative Movement and the Law on the State Enterprise.

[When taxing cooperatives, the speaker believes, it must be borne in mind that they were set up to provide services to the population. Now we are witnessing a different process: Many cooperatives are rushing to provide services to state enterprises and thus transforming the state enterprises' uncommitted credit facilities into cash funds.]

Deputy A.I. Golyakov proposed an amendment to that part of the decree which speaks about granting cooperatives the right to receive benefits. Pensioners must be included among persons with limited labor ability. The speaker expressed the opinion that this is dictated by the need to recruit the large detachment of pensioners for labor activity within their capabilities. This would improve their material situation and would prevent them feeling detached from active life. [Furthermore, deductions from incomes would be channeled to help those in need. The speaker announced that a decision has been made to set up an association of veterans' cooperatives.]

Deputy A.Ya. Neumyvakin dwelled on the problems being faced by social organizations of the disabled, whose participation in the cooperative movement is one form of labor rehabilitation. The speaker expressed his confidence that disabled people today need energetic actions aimed at improving their social status more than they need compassion. In this context, the speaker proposed that the social organizations of the disabled be relieved from tax liability and income tax so that these funds could be spent entirely on their needs.

Speaking about the activity of cooperatives in the cultural sphere, Deputy Ye.D. Doga stressed that this movement takes abnormal forms in many instances. Specifically, questions concerning cooperatives engaged in the organization of concerts require serious study and further work. The prices set by these cooperatives are so high that concerts are beyond the reach of young people and students, and this does not in any way help the education of the growing generation. The deputy proposed that the decree be adopted, but that suitable amendments be submitted to the parliament's fall session with due consideration for public opinion.

Deputy S.A. Magomedov took advantage of having the floor to read out a telegram from his voters which contained harsh criticism of the activity of many cooperatives. [Working people accuse cooperative members of engaging in activity which furthers price increases, speculation, and the development of a black economy.]

The unequal conditions in which state sector enterprises and cooperatives find themselves have created the danger of a mass outflow of manpower into cooperative production. Furthermore, the voters stress, the majority of those leaving to join cooperatives live in housing which was built using the funds and labor force of enterprises and organizations. In the writers' opinion, this is unfair. [The telegram draws the following conclusion: Support those cooperatives which activity is really aimed at strengthening the country's economy and serving people's interests. At the same time, there is need to review the Law on the Cooperative Movement in order to halt the activity of cooperatives which destabilize and ruin the economy.]

USSR Minister of Justice V.F. Yakovlev commented on the course of the debate from a juridical point of view. He drew deputies' attention to the fact that the decree does not contradict the provisions of the Law on the Cooperative Movement. [This decree is actually the first act compiled in conformity with the law.]

The decree's ratification, the speaker said, is necessary. This is an immediate measure. We need to have tax liability legislation, otherwise the old tax rates, which are not in line with current conditions, will operate in the cooperative sector. [The speaker dwelled in detail on the phrasing of a series of amendments to the decree, which were discussed in the course of the debate, and analyzed them from a legal point of view. He called on deputies to make the most considered decisions and to take into account all the specific features of the development of our economy's cooperative sector.]

The floor was taken again by Deputy A.A. Korshunov, who already spoke on this matter Thursday [27 July]. Having read a letter from voters expressing indignation at anomalies within the cooperative movement, he said: We find ourselves in an extraordinary situation. The political, economic, and moral stability in the country will depend on how we vote. [It was said here that speculative cooperatives cannot be stifled by taxes, that we cannot ban them. What is this, are we powerless in the face of the mafia? It is necessary to immediately make decisions which would placate public opinion and would cut the ground from under the cooperative movement speculators' feet. The speaker proposed urgent elaboration of a package of emergency measures to protect civilized cooperatives and to combat speculation.]

The outcome of the debate was summed up by A.I. Lukyanov. Most deputies, he noted, are in favor of the decree being adopted subject to to a series of remarks and amplifications. It is necessary to instruct the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, jointly with other committees and commissions, to further work out all the proposals and to submit a final draft of decree before the end of this session. At the same time, the USSR Council of Ministers should be instructed to elaborate and submit to the next USSR Supreme Soviet session amendments to the Law on the Cooperative Movement, a system of measures to strengthen tax inspectorates, and a system of emergency measures to combat speculation, especially with foodstuffs and consumer goods.

Deputies accepted this proposal by a majority of votes.

The chairman announced that the present session has examined all decrees included in the draft USSR Law "On Ratification of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees on the Introduction of Amendments and Additions to USSR Legislative Acts."

He noted that it was decided to introduce individual amendments to some decrees in the process of their ratification. Furthermore, committees and commissions were instructed to re-examine the decrees "On the Introduction of Amendments to the Legislation on Holidays and Commemorative Days," "On Cooperatives' Income Tax," and "On Ratification of Provisions for USSR Trade Missions Abroad."

Deputy A.S. Dzasokhov proposed that the provisions on USSR missions abroad be examined, with due consideration goven to amendments, after consultations with deputies and interested organizations.

K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and Deputies V.S. Podziruk, S.M. Ryabchenko, S.A. Tsyshlyayev, and others took part in the discussion of he proposals.

It was decided to come back to the examination of this question.

The draft law, with the aforementioned three decrees removed from it, was put to the vote.

Following a separate vote by each chamber, the law as amended and supplemented was adopted by a majority of votes.

Deputies then moved onto examine the draft USSR Law "On Ratification of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree Dated 8 April 1989 'On Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law "On Criminal Liability for State Crimes" and Certain Other USSR Legislative Acts.'" Deputies S.S. Alekseyev, N.N. Medvedev, S.A. Tsyplyayev, F.M. Burlatskiy, D.N. Kugultinov, A.A. Denisov, and others submitted a series of proposals aimed at amplifying the text of the law's articles.

The session instructed the commission which had examined this draft law in advance to reconvene during the break in order to clarify the text of certain articles, so that discussion could be resumed afterwards.

Deputy Yu.S. Shchapov took the floor to deliver a briefing report. He expressed concern over the situation prevailing in Khakasia, in Southern Krasnoyarsk Kray. Not only miners but also representatives of other sectors are trying to use the strike method to draw attention to their problems.

Pondering the ways out of the prevailing situation, the speaker pointed out in particular the importance of giving enterprises genuine economic autonomy and the need to implement a price reform and immediately solve social and consumer service problems.

The floor was taken by Deputy M.G. Vulfson. He briefed those present on decisions made by the Latvian Supreme Soviet session held at the end of last week, which he described as historical. The deputy noted that the unanimous adoption of the declaration of Latvian state sovereignty and the resolution on transition to economic accountability and economic autonomy coincided in time with the USSR Supreme Soviet session's adoption of documents welcoming the efforts by Baltic republic aimed at improving the economy and the economic mechanism.

At the evening sitting, and with due consideration for the amendments which were submitted, deputies from the two chambers ratified in separate votes the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree Dated 8 April 1989 "On Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law 'On Criminal Liability for State Crimes' and Certain Other USSR Legislative Acts."

Afterwards, and without discussion, the deputies ratified by a majority of votes the USSR Law "On Confirmation that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree 'On the Procedure for Transition of Enterprises and Association From Republican and Local to Union Jurisdiction' Is No Longer in Force."

The session thus completed the ratification of decrees. The discussion of a number of decrees was postponed due to the need for additional work on them by USSR Supreme Soviet committees and permanent commissions.

The Supreme Soviet moved on to examine the draft law on the publication and entry into force of USSR laws and other acts adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and their organs. It was submitted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A report on this question was delivered by Soviet of Nationalities Chairman R.N. Nishanov.

In the conditions of democratization, glasnost, and formation of a rule-of-law state, he noted, special importance attaches to prompt, complete, and trustworthy information on normative acts being adopted.

The television and radio coverage of the preparation for and holding of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session constitutes a unique action of glasnost without equal in the world's parliamentary practice.

The activity of the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet session was widely covered by the periodical press. There is probably not a single publication which failed to cover it.

As of today, 64 issues of special congress and session bulletins have been published. A stenographic report on the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies is being prepared to go to press, and publication of a stenographic report of the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session is planned. A resolution was adopted on the procedure for coverage of sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its committees, and the chambers' commissions by the mass media. In conformity with this resolution, a Supreme Soviet press center will be created to regularly hold briefings, press conferences, and other events for Soviet and foreign journalists.

It is being established that USSR laws and other acts by the congress and the Supreme Soviet are subject to mandatory publication in VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR in the languages of all union republics and also in the newspaper IZVESTIYA. They will be publicized on radio and television. In this way, the laws will be brought to the notice of, and made available to, each and every citizen of our country. VEDOMOSTI will also publish international treaties and other acts, as well as orders by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The publication of laws is associated with a very important provision—their entry into force. It is envisaged that USSR laws will enter into force simultaneously throughout the country's territory 10 days after their publication in VEDOMOSTI or IZVESTIYA, unless a different time was set when they were adopted.

Acts by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which are not of general application may not necessarily be published but notified to institutions or persons concerned.

In addition to acts, VEDOMOSTI, being the official publication of the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet, shall publish information on the activity of the congress, the Supreme Soviet, and its chambers, commissions, committees, and Presidium. VEDOMOSTI shall be distributed among all USSR people's deputies.

Ye.M. Primakov, who was in the chair, gave the floor to S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, to deliver a coreport.

Our committee, he said, approves the draft law in principle and recommends that it be adopted.

Proposals, remarks, and clarifications on the question under discussion were made by Deputies K.D. Lubenchenko, S.S. Alekseyev, Ye.M. Primakov, and A.I. Lukyanov.

Following a separate vote by the two chambers, the Law "On the Procedure for Publication and Entry Into Force of USSR Laws and Other Acts Adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Their Organs" and additions to it were adopted by a majority of votes.

The chairman proposed that deputies discuss T.B. Chilebayev's candidacy for the vacant position of deputy chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee.

G.V. Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, described the candidate who is a USSR people's deputy.

T.B. Chilebayev briefly outlined his view of the tasks facing people's control organs.

The session elected T.B. Chilebayev deputy chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee by a majority of votes.

The evening sitting ended with a discussion of a series of questions asked by deputies. Deputy V.S. Podziruk raised a problem which affects many people: The impossibility of obtaining work without residence permit, and of obtaining residence permit without work.

Deputy B.N. Yeltsin reported on the sitting of an interregional group of deputies held 29-30 July. He described the motivations behind the organization of this group and, on the group's behalf, submitted proposals concerning the forthcoming elections for local soviets and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Deputy V.K. Foteyev expressed a series of doubts about the position taken by the interregional groups. He called for unity of actions by people's deputies and proposed that the expedience of its existence be rethought.

Deputy I.Kh. Rayg briefed the session on the results of a conference of representatives of peasants' farms and agricultural cooperatives held in the Moscow region, and read out an address by its participants to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Deputy B.T. Palagnyuk expressed disagreement with the idea of organizing an interregional group of deputies. He spoke of the need for the most effective utilization of deputies' time and national funds, noting what he considers to be the main task of people's deputies—to persistently solve the social questions facing society.

It would be a mistake to consider that the interregional group of deputies is setting itself the goal of taking power or creating a split, Deputy N.S. Sazonov declared. It pursues just one goal—to radically change the situation in the country for the better.

Deputy R.A. Medvedev shared a few doubts. Resorting to medical terminology, he said that our country, living through a state of crisis, needs neither a conservative solution nor surgical intervention, but intensive therapy. Touching on the question of convening an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, he expressed fear that this could lead to destabilization of the situation in the country.

Deputy A.M. Mezentsev read out an address by the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session, which was held a few days ago, to the USSR Supreme Soviet in connection with the critical situation in the republic's national economy due to the shortage of railroad cars .

Deputy V.I. Ogarok expressed his disagreement with the interregional group's activity. Nobody knows where such a division could lead, he said.

Deputy A.M. Obolenskiy reported on a trip to Kirishi on instructions from the Committee for Ecology. He called on the Supreme Soviet to make a decision in order to find a way out of the complex ecological situation in this region. The speaker also read out a deputy's question on the problem of low-income people.

The main task of people's deputies, Deputy V.A. Martirosyan said, is to lead the country out of the difficult situation. Touching on the positions of the interregional group, he spoke out against the division of deputies and proposed to make use of everything that is sensible, that all seek constructive solutions together, and called for mutual respect among deputies.

The sitting ended.

The session will continue its work 1 August.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Housing, Opposition

PM0208141189 Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 2

[Interview with B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Construction and Architecture, by own correspondent A. Pankov: "More Work"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Pankov] Housing is perhaps the country's most acute social problem. And the hope with which our people greeted the Housing-2000 program announced in the course of perestroyka is understandable. Carrying it out means taking the edge off one of the "capital" social issues. However, letters from readers and comments from correspondents indicating that the program is threatened by ruin are being received with increasing frequency from many regions of the country. What is your opinion, Boris Nikolayevich, as chairman of the Committee for Construction and Architecture, of the reality of the problem?

[Yeltsin] It is indeed one of the programs that most worries almost everyone and that is used by the people to assess perestroyka's progress. But, unfortunately, as with certain other major socioeconomic programs, it too has been more a slogan and appeal than a program based on precise calculation. Of course, people are encouraged by the fact that every family will have its own individual apartment or house by the year 2000. But when I was still working at the USSR State Committee for Construction and now here, at the committee, analyzing the whole situation in the light of the conclusions and opinions of demographers, sociologists, and construction specialists and the state of the production base, I came to the conclusion that the preliminary figures incorporated the 13th and 14th 5-Year Plans were much lower than the Housing-2000 Program required. For example, it is proposed to build 700 million square meters of accommodations in the 13th 5-Year Plan, while between 900 million and 1 billion are required. It is the same with the 14th 5-Year Plan.

And can we attain such rates straightaway? In 1995, we should build 250 million square meters, that is to say, twice as much as before. That is a colossal task. One should certainly not say that it is completely unfulfillable. It was simply arbitrary... And to meet the task, even in theory, you need additional capacities to build 100 million square meters of housing. We cannot proceed along the old, traditional route. Develop large-panel house construction? But that accommodation itself is no longer what is required today in terms of quality and comfort. And the plants are very labor- and materials-intensive, and we will simply not manage to create the base within the time.

[Pankov] We are all experts today at pointing out deficiencies. But what actually has to be done?

[Yeltsin] We are talking about a new tack perhaps in housing construction and its structure. Roughly 20 million of the 100 million increase in capacity is nevertheless through the modernization and expansion of large-panel house construction plants. As much, perhaps even more, through the development of cast-on-site [monolitnyy] construction and single-story construction, which are now a very important priority. Unfortunately, in the last 5-7 years there has been a pretty sharp decline here. And this has impaired the solution of the housing problem. This kind of construction needs not only to be restored to its former size but considerably increased and the production of bricks and cinder blocks expanded. That part of the program is directly connected with the revival of the villages and their social development.

However, the lion's share of the increase in volume—around 60 million square meters—will come from production of cellular concrete. This is a very advanced, hygienic material which is lighter and cheaper. We committed a most gross error in not having utilized it for the last 15-20 years, as they have in the West. And we now intend to build no less than 200 plants to produce this material.

[Pankov] Yet this has to be done in literally just a few years. And knowing our capacity for amassing long-delayed construction projects one has to question the feasibility of the program.

[Yeltsin) Doubts there certainly are... What have we managed to do so far? We have purchased two cellular-concrete production plants from the FRG. But the remaining 200 plants have to be produced by us based on their technology. We already have the drawings in our possession. Sites have been found and plants are being allocated. We intend to have five plants in 1990. And then a sharp leap forward in their construction will start. I consider it quite unrealistic to carry out the announced program by the year 2000 using any other technologies.

[Pankov] Some economists think that to solve the housing problem quickly you need to sell apartments to the population. What is your opinion on this?

[Yeltsin] I am not in favor of selling all accommodations to the population—only part. Nevertheless, there are more than 40 million inhabitants in the country living below the poverty line. And they in the main do not have normal accommodation.

[Pankov] Since your appointment as chairman of the Committee for Construction and Architecture, you have said in some interviews that this is an attempt to remove you from active political work. Yet your committee can, for example, reject or substantially alter a proposed program or alter the structure of capital construction and thereby influence the economic actions of the government and indeed political decisions without which it is virtually impossible to reduce capital investments in production and the defense sphere. It seems to me therefore that your activity in the post of chairman is also politics.

[Yeltsin] You see, I would in any event engage in political activity. Even if someone tried to remove me from it by some means or the other. It cannot be said the work of committee chairman fully meets my need for political activity. It is only one sphere, albeit a very important one. I do wholly agree with you that it is political in nature.

And I do now, of course, albeit with difficulty (lack of time!) engage in political activity. I am thinking of it in broad terms: Involvement in the work of the interregional group of USSR people's deputies, the struggle to achieve social justice, protect the environment, and solve Moscow's problems... These involve constant meetings with working people and the solution of some directly political questions—on the role of the party, the convening of the extraordinary 27th congress...

[Pankov] Can your committee really influence economic policy right now?

[Yeltsin] In part. Let us say that we propose cutting investment in industrial construction by roughly 40 percent and increasing capital investments in the social sphere thanks to this by roughly R30 billion. We propose removing the remaining freed-up funds from the budget, strengthening our ruble, and checking inflation.

[Pankov] You were somewhat hesitant about influence. Are the committee's powers inadequate or...?

[Yeltsin] We do not have any powers at all. We are still in a "subordinate" situation. It is surprising that this work has been organized since the outset in the Supreme Soviet. Or, more accurately, not organized. We became deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet essentially without having a status. The congress and the Supreme Soviet lack fixed standing orders. The committees and commissions operate without a statute.

But I do not want to say that this hinders us greatly. Government bodies treat the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions with respect.

...Boris Nikolayevich's attention was diverted at this point, and after a telephone conversation he asked an assistant to go downstairs to meet a committee visitor...

[Pankov] Would you please explain why it is so difficult to gain access to your committee. Even I, and I am accredited to the Supreme Soviet session, had to negotiate a tough obstacle course. But how are "nonaccredited" citizens who would like to meet with you going to get through? I am not thinking of meetings with voters—for that purpose you recently acquired a room in Apartment Block 24 on Stanislavskiy Street. But on construction matters one has to come here, to the Hotel Moskva, where, incidentally, other Supreme Soviet committees and commissions "difficult of access" are accommodated...

[Yeltsin] Sorry, but that is not a question for me. And anyway we do not have a single member of staff yet.

[Pankkov] But there are assistants sitting in your "luxury" room...

[Yeltsin] They are volunteers.

[Pankov] It took us a whole hour to get here from the Spasskiy Gates of the Kremlin (roughly 300 meters away). Many people have approached you as a deputy with requests and letters, and I can see that the place is crammed with letters...

[Yeltsin] We have received 14,000 letters... And the volunteers help come to grips with them. A similar lack of order douubtless exists in other committees and commissions.

[Pankov] Let us return to the main topic... What do you consider the general line of your committee's activity? What should it achieve in the very near term?

[Yeltsin] A new investment policy in the country. For decades we have been unable to reduce unfinished work. In the last four years it has risen again. By R30 billion! Everyone has thrown money away. And to raise pensions to a minimum level (R70) and find the necessary R6 billion for this we have since the congress all been arguing but have been unable to find in any way the means to do this. It is therefore necessary to achieve greater priority for the social sphere in investment policy.

[Pankov] Are you happy with the composition of the committee?

[Yeltsin] There are not enough lawyers or architects. Although our meetings are energetic and discussion is committed, not everyone is pulling their full weight. The notorious "as a rule" principle does great damage to our work. If you are going to work, do so properly. But you do not know whether someone is an "absolute" or an "as a rule" person there.

[Pankov] Judging by one of your recent speeches in the USSR Supreme Soviet, you were one of the instigators of the Interregional Group of USSR people's deputies. And at its first session, on 29 July, the theses of its program were delivered. You were then elected one of the group's five cochairmen... In other words, you, as you said, are expanding the scope of your political activity. What is the group's objective? Is there not the danger of a split here, as one has already had occasion to hear? Will this group not divert the Supreme Soviet from solving the most acute socioeconomic problems?

[Yeltsin] It was very clear at the congress that a "minority" and "majority" took shape. The minority was defeated on many questions perhaps because it was uncoordinated. Disorder and lack of coordination often hindered and had an adverse effect on our activity. Instead of immediately supporting sensible proposals a rally-like discussion ensued. Before one question had been completed the congress would be carried off in another direction by new proposals.

But the Interregional Group is not some kind of parallel supreme soviet. And in no way sees its task as rejecting everything that is submitted to the Supreme Soviet.

Deputies should act, mindful of the state of crisis in the country, society, the party, politics, the economy, social questions, ethnic relations, and the fact that a wave of strikes has begun. One of the reasons for all this is the fact that perestroyka is proceeding slowly, indecisively, and by half-measures. The leadership of the country and the party bear prime responsibility for this.

This group sees its task as injecting dynamism, as it were, into the processes of perestroyka and into parliamentary activity in the Supreme Soviet and congresses. Yes, we will introduce some alternative proposals. But that forms part of the pluralism that has been proclaimed. It is not at variance with either the Cosntitution or our laws. Yes, we will make new proposals on laws, beacuse the agenda proposed for us in the Supreme Soviet is not fully in keeping with the state of society. Society is, one may say, in a state of flux, in a serious condition, while we are being asked to examine laws on young people and inventions... They are, of course, necessary, but can wait. The glaring problems that have deadlocked the economy, and interethnic relations, have to be resolved more quickly. And be resolved in a more radical way! Half-measures will be our downfall. Maneuvering between one opinion and another and the desire to satisfy abolutely everyone leads, I would say, to a stance lacking in principle and to the corresponding result which we now have.

However, the group will, of course, support laws introduced in the Supreme Soviet if they are really linked to the people's needs.

[Pankov] I was speaking with some deputies yesterday about this group. Some, for example, Yaroslav Donchak, a miner from Karaganda, said bluntly that "If this group opposes the Supreme Soviet, I will not join it. In today's complicated situation the Supreme Soviet should be united."

[Yeltsin] The word "unity" has already done our country great harm. We have always been told in the name of "unity" that it is necessary to think the way the leader thinks. It is time to dump this stereotype once and for all. The most correct standpoint is developed in the contest of opinions.

But Donchak is right that our group should not pursue direct opposition [protivopostavleniye] as a goal in itself. And it does not. I do not think that the group will block a draft law if has not introdpduced it itself. To imagine the group's task in that way is simply ridiculous.

[Pankov] That is to say, not as is is sometimes conceived by the opposition in certain countries—that of rejecting anything to further political goals and ambitions?

[Yelstin] Of course not. The group regards the interests of the people and the country as paramount.

[Pankov] Activity that is thus in favor of constructiveness and practical goals rather than political intrigue?

[Yeltsin] Certainly, since that simultaneously assists both the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. For example, we are starting to prepare right now for the second congress. Thus, it is our common task to ensure that it produces the maximum results. We want to achieve the adoption of certain of—in our view—the most urgent laws as early as possible. This, after all, is being done for people. Voters do not understand a lot at the moment. They watch our endless and sometimes vacuous debates on television. These are already making them disgruntled, and their patience is coming to an end... I met with members of a Donbass strike committee. They expressed their discontent with the congress and the session. They are waiting for concrete decisions. And I am in full accord with them. Along with the general discussion it is time to reach concrete decisions that relate to people's lives....

Yeltsin Cited on Interregional Group Aims

PM0208154589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 2

[Report by P. Voshchanov: "Nonstop Sittings?" First paragraph is reader's letter, second and third paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] I recently found out about the Interregional Deputies' Group from the television relay of the Supreme Soviet sitting. Who set it up and for what purpose? What questions will it resolve?
N. Petrov, Petrozavodsk

A sitting of the Interregional Group, which was set up at the initiative of USSR people's deputies—who characterized its main aim as pluralism of positions, alternative decisions, and radical changes—was held yesterday and today in Moscow, at the Movie House. Some 220 deputies attended Saturday's [30 July] group sitting but more are expected to attend on Sunday.

Our correspondent P. Voshchanov reports:

The sitting was opened by Deputy G. Popov. He described this meeting's aim as follows: To determine the list of top-priority tasks that the voters expect to be solved in order to put them on the agenda at the current Supreme Soviet session. Having started with a discussion of possible amendments to the Law on State Enterprises, deputies soon switched the debate to another subject of concern to everyone—the country's political and economic position. The first speeches showed how our legislators' views and convictions differ.

The main dispute revolved around the following question: What kind of group should it be?

In the recess between sittings, I asked B. Yeltsin, who delivered a report on the Interregional Group's political platform, the following question: What are its tasks?

"To prepare alternative versions of laws. To reflect the interests of radical strata of the population (the population rather than just deputies themselves). To rule out bureaucratic cosmetics when drafting a new Soviet Constitution. To strive to hold elections to local bodies on a democratic and alternative basis as soon as possible. And of course, to strive to abolish all privileges of the apparatus."

Despite the different specific approaches, it seems that most of those present agreed with the need to resolve these tasks. I asked People's Deputy V. Yaroshenko something that worries many of us today: Is the Interregional Group the Soviet parliamentary opposition?

"Our voters have probably realized from the television relays that all of us deputies have different convictions. I see nothing terrible in the fact that various approaches clash today."

Expressing his attitude to the Interregional Group, as TASS reported, Ye. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, who spoke at the meeting, said that its alternative proposals are indisputably useful in themselves. ("Incidentally, they could have been submitted earlier to the session for examination"). But he expressed doubt as to whether any independent group is necessary in addition to what has already been set up.

Deputies Give Opinions on Interregional Group

LD0208114589 Moscow TASS in English 1124 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—The weekly MOSCOW NEWS today published two different opinions on the newly-created Inter-regional Deputy Group.

The opinions were expressed by two people's deputies—group co-chairman Boris Yeltsin and Veli Gusein Ogly Mamedov, a district party committee secretary from the Azerbaijani capital of Baku.

Yeltsin said that "The Inter-regional Deputy group has united part of people's deputies who are not satisfied with the pace of perestroyka and by half-measures in politics, the economy, the nationalities issue and the social sphere, which have nearly led the country into a crisis."

"Although they are attempting to ascribe this to us, we do not aim by any manner of means to split the Supreme Soviet, struggle for power, create opposition or block any bills sponsored by people's deputies," he added.

Yeltsin believes that without such an organisation as this group it would be difficult to work out alternative proposals and draft laws.

Mamedov believes, however, that the group wants to set up a second organisational centre in the Supreme Soviet and, later, a second Supreme Soviet within the existing Supreme Soviet.

"It would be good if the organisers of the Inter-regional Group stop and ponder over what they are doing, and then shift all their work to the (parliamentary) commissions and committees," he said.

"It is possible to compare alternative options without a split," Mamedov insisted.

Justice Minister Assesses Draft Strike Law

LD0208222689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Report on interview with Justice Minister V.F. Yakovlev by correspondent P. Orlov in Moscow on 2 August; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Yakovlev] So what should this law on labor disputes be about? Some are proposing that an individual law should be adopted on strikes, while others propose that strikes should also come within the framework of this law. I think that this second approach is the more correct one. The thing is—what are strikes? Strikes, you see, are not the aim itself, they are a means. A means for what? A means for settling labor collective, labor conflicts. One of the means, an extreme means. There should without fail be other means, and they, these other means, should be a suitable way to review disagreements which have arisen, a way of arbitration. As a rule they should be at work, and a strike, consequently, is an extreme means when there is no way out. Consequently a strike should not be considered individually, but only (?in this extremity) and together with the whole procedure, with all the processes for settling labor conflicts.

[Orlov] And are strikes with political demands possible?

[Yakovlev] I think that such a strike will be lawful—it should, in any case, be considered legal—when of course it has some kind of demands which are connected with work conditions, and of course there may appear there some kind of additional demands so to speak, with (?shades) of a political nature, but they should be immediately removed from the parameters of the labor conflict, and they should not exert an influence on either the beginning or the continuation or the ending of the strike. [word indistinct] special question which is liable to separate settlement and a special procedure, another procedure, should exist to settle it.

Trade Union Chief Interviewed on Strike Law

LD0208220289 Moscow Dometic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Report on interview with S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, by correspondent Vladimir Korablev during interval of Supreme Soviet sessions in Moscow on 2 August—recorded]

[Text] [Shalayev] We in the trade unions are firmly convinced that in our country there has to be a law on the procedure of examining collective labor disputes, or as people are now calling it, a law on strikes. Why? We have a procedure, determined by legislation, of examining individual labor disputes of individual offices of manual workers. But when there is a dispute involving the whole collective of an enterprise, or in individual sections of it, either regarding their attitude to their administration, or to the supreme body of management, then no legislative procedure, or procedure for examining such disputes, has existed hitherto.

The main thing for us, and what we wanted to reflect in this document, is that labor disputes which may arise can be examined in good time. That is why the document proposes that very strict timetables should be established for examining such disputes.

[Korablev] if this law had been adopted earlier, do you think the situation with the miners' strikes would have occurred?

[Shalayev] I believe that had this law been adopted last year, or at the beginning of this year, which is what we requested of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the recent events would not have spread as widely as they did, either among the miners or among workers in the coal-mining regions of our country. Why? even in the Kuzbass, the works collective of the Shevelekov mine, the mine which was the first to go on strike in the Kuzbass, discussed and put forward demands to the ministry and to the supreme bodies at a 15 June meeting. On 15 June. And these demands consisted of a total of eight points which have now been authorized. Had this procedure, with a strict timetable—say 5 days—existed, the the minister would have been obliged to keep within that period and examine this dispute, meet with the collective and explain to them that it was possible to solve matters within the limits of their rights and to tell them which issues he would take to the government, what time frame, and so on.

The working people often say to us: We understand that not all problems can be solved in a day, but tell us who will examine our proposals and when, within what time frame will they be examined, at what time will we know this decision. And their rights are natural. That is why we need this law, so that the law not only sets out the right to strike, but, and this is the main thing, the law should represent the rights of the workers collective and the trade-union committee to ask these questions at the right time to those on whom the decisions to these problems depend, ask them at the right time, and examine and settle them at the right time. That is the point—the main point—of it.

[Korablev] During today's debate on the draft law the deputies spoke about it having a great many weak points.

[Shalayev] I think that the weakest point of this law is the fact that there is no precise legislative procedure for ending a strike. What I mean is, there is a procedure which says it is possible to declare a strike, but when to end such a strike, at what point is such a strike declared over? Who adopts the decisions on these issues? And so on.

Second, there are a whole number of enterprises which are linked with the support of the population, for example bakery enterprises, trade, providing the population with water, heating and power, the work of the medical establishments. There are a group of enterprises which operate 24 hours a day, and there are enterprises which ensure our country's security, and so on. They are indicated in today's draft law in a general way, and it has been stated that a specific list should be determined by legislation of the USSR or the union republics. And I have no doubt that the Supreme Soviet will receive a whole number of proposals and comments which will be aimed at improving this draft law, and so once the work on this draft law is completed it could be adopted at the autumn session.

Correspondent Views Nuclear Moratorium Appeal

LD0208193489 Moscow TASS in English
1911 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent: The appeal by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the U.S. Congress regarding a moratorium on nuclear explosions and halting nuclear tests is a new important link in the chain of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives aimed at stopping the dangerous competition in stockpiling nuclear weapons.

The USSR's readiness to shift the problem of halting nuclear tests into a practical plane was repeatedly confirmed by specific deeds. The seriousness of the Soviet Union's intentions became obvious for all when the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear blasts was in effect for 569 days. The Soviet Union, demonstrating enviable restraint and a truly inexhaustible reserve of good will, extended the moratorium several times and only when the U.S. refusal to join in this action became evident it was forced to resume tests.

The continuity of the efforts aimed at terminating nuclear tests was also reflected in the appeal adopted on Tuesday. It stated for one more time the readiness of the USSR to announce a moratorium on all nculear explosions any day and hour, which could be a prologue to concluding a verifiable comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. This issue is proposed to be discussed at a meeting of Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians, which could be held in Moscow or Washington shortly.

The appeal also emphasises that the Soviet side does everything depending on it to finalise the first stage—ratify the 1974 and 1976 treaties—and pass over without delay to elaborating commitments on a complete halt of tests. The joint experiments of Soviet and American scientists proved that reliable verification of the fulfillment of this treaty is possible.

The importance of the appeal adopted by the Soviet parliament goes far beyond Soviet-American relations. This document points out, and justly so, that keeping under control the global situation with nuclear armaments depends on the solution of the nuclear test ban issue. For this reason, this problem should be the topic of a keen discussion by all members of the world community. A forum for this discussion does exist. It is not by chance that the appeal underlines the USSR's preparedness to get down immediately to the consideration of the comprehensive nuclear test problem at the Geneva conference on disarmament.

The appeal by the Soviet parliament to the U.S. Congress is totally in line with the present-day tendencies in the development of the international political situation, the hopes and aspirations of the entire world community. It takes into account the provisions of numerous U.N. General Assembly resolutions, calls by the Non-aligned Movement, and the proposals by the six-nation group leaders.

The USSR sets once again the example of good will, calling upon its partner in the dialogue to take an important step toward a safer world. The Soviet Union has every right to expect that this call will be heard.

Shevardnadze Discusses Foreign Policy Process

18070706 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 28, 7 Jul 89 pp 8-10

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, by NOVOYE VREMYA commentator Galina Sidorova: "Foreign Policy Begins At Home"]

[Text] NOVOYE VREMYA: Eduard Amvrosiyevich, you were a minister in the old cabinet. As a candidate for this post in the new government, you represented your program to the International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet and answered many questions from the deputies. And finally the Supreme Soviet unanimously confirmed you to be the minister of foreign affairs. What does it mean to be a minister today?

E. Shevardnadze: I would say that there is a great difference, to be a minister, and, so to speak, to be nominated as a minister who must be examined by the Supreme Soviet, by each deputy, and in essence, by the country. In effect, this difference also contains the colossal progress in our political, civil-legal, and moral self-consciousness which was determined by the needs of society's development, the processes of its renewal.

NOVOYE VREMYA: Will corrections be needed in your activity?

E. Shevardnadze: More than that. A restructuring is needed. After all, the constitutionally empowered mechanism of making foreign policy decisions is beginning to work. Accordingly the activity of the Foreign Ministry will work in the new regime, will acquire new parameters and qualities. In my view, we still have to determine precisely the limits of competence in the foreign policy area of the Congress of People's Deputies and its Foreign Affairs Committee. It is now, at the current stage when the foundation of our business interrelations is being laid, that we should think about making concrete several positions of the country's Fundamental Law and other acts, which would exclude a broadened or arbitrary interpretation.

In speaking to the committee, I set forth the basic trends on which we must cooperate both with the committee and the Supreme Soviet, and, in some matters, with the congress as well. This is the determination of basic foreign policy trends, the discussion in preliminary form of appropriate draft laws introduced for the consideration of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, hearings on international treaties submitted for ratification, funding of foreign policy actions, assisting groups of deputies who will be entrusted with observing the course of negotiations in which the USSR is participating, or assisting special missions to international organizations in the preparation of reports on the problems of world politics. We intend to support the control implemented by the committee over fulfillment of laws concerning external aspects of the Soviet state, and observance of the execution of our country's obligations stemming from concluded treaties. I assume that reports and information from the minister and his deputies, hearings with ambassadors before and after confirmation to their posts, reports from USSR representatives to international organizations, and reports on, say, the issues of realization of the Vienna agreements or the execution of the INF Treaty will become standard in the committee's practice.

In principle, we have agreed with the committee on the accounts of our delegations to the most important negotiations, especially concerning the problems of disarmament.

NOVOYE VREMYA: How did your confirmation in the Foreign Affairs Committee go?

E. Shevardnadze: It was businesslike, constructive, professional, and amiable.

NOVOYE VREMYA: To be frank, we had expected nothing else. During the congress, the "Opinion" sociological service formulated an index of deputy support for ministry and department leaders. According to the results of the poll of delegates, you led your colleagues by a wide margin....

E. Shevardnadze: For me that attitude on the deputies' part is first and foremost trust in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in our entire foreign policy and diplomatic service. The basis, perhaps, is not only in the consensus formed by society regarding the foreign policy course. It is also reflected in the fact that we have been working recently in close contact with representatives of, and I am not afraid of the phrase, the country's intellectual elite. I have in mind people of the most disparate professions. Progressive party, scientific, creative, sociopolitical and military thought, the keen vision of you, the journalists, and the experience of labor people professionally enrich the diplomats. Incidentally, for me, the composition of the Supreme Soviet committee personifies this businesslike and creative cooperation.

NOVOYE VREMYA: Were there, nevertheless, difficult questions for you during the course of the discussion?

E. Shevardnadze: Perhaps there were no difficult questions, but there were very serious ones, especially from the point of view of the problems facing us. The main question is, how must foreign policy work on perestroyka within the country? Many deputies noted, and I myself acknowledge that the diplomatic service must turn more boldly to the problems of the economy, economic collaboration with states from the standpoint of increasing its efficacy, and the study of today's tendencies in the world economy, of integrative processes. Here we have both serious omissions and reserves. Desires were also expressed to study the experience of interethnic relations in various states. This is also an extremely topical issue. And even though our own country has rich experience in a given area, it would do us no harm to know how others are solving similar problems.

I want to emphasize once again: Our main priority is to provide conditions maximally favorable for perestroyka in the country.

NOVOYE VREMYA: Apparently, there exists a reverse linkage as well....

E. Shevardnadze: Undoubtedly. Foreign policy achievements would experience a many-fold increase if we could manage to achieve more internal stability. The numerous burdens and misfortunes which have befallen us of late, the crises in the economy, the deformation of interethnic relations, natural disasters and catastrophes reduce our chances for foreign policy success. It is quite obvious that perestroyka, which has returned its good name to the country, is generating in the world a sense of commiseration, and a readiness to help us. But it should be openly stated that if our internal difficulties are multiplied by conservatism, ill will, intolerance, any sort of egoism, or turn toward the dogmatic principles of the past, it will be all the more complicated to advocate peace, reduce tension, to keep up the cause of broader and irreversible disarmament, and to become integrated into the the world economic system. Therefore, the thoughts and concerns of diplomats are not somewhere far away, beyond the country's horizons, but here, in the depths of its hard-working life. And while it remains such, we will have no rest.

NOVOYE VREMYA: It is written in the decree of the Congress of People's Deputies that the formulation and conduct of the foreign policy of the Soviet state must be under the people's control. How do you understand this?

E. Shevardnadze: Control will be implemented through the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet and its committees and commissio .: the lawmaking activity, the regular accounts, and hearings of which I spoke. I would assign a particular role in the control to television and the press, including your respected publication, with which I cooperate enthusiastically.

In general, the issue of control is exceptionally important. It signifies that we are making the transition to a practice which completely excludes the very possibility of any sort of secret decisions fraught with the risk of loss for the country and the people. Decisions such as putting troops in Afghanistan or the placement of missiles, which led to the opening of a second strategic front against the USSR.

We are making the transition to a practice which reliably protects the country from unjustified and senseless expenditures, as could have been done, for example, if the production of chemical weapons had not been halted 20 years late, to a practice of forming a national consensus as the strongest foundation of our international activity. This is a guarantee that the country will not, as has happened in the past, become involved in activities incompatible with the values of socialism or the people's interests, morale, truth, and sense of justice. Only in the event of the preservation and fortification of such a consensus will Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy be immutably oriented toward the confirmation of common human values and humanitarian ideals in international and interstate relations.

I take very seriously what was said in the Supreme Soviet committee. After any visit, negotiations, or major actions, I am prepared to speak to the deputies on the committee to present the appropriate information, and as needed, to the Supreme Soviet. We have no secrets.

NOVOYE VREMYA: But what of diplomatic secrecy; I have in mind professional secrecy? How do you plan to combine it with the open nature of the work of the Supreme Soviet committee?

E. Shevardnadze: I would ascribe the formulation of negotiating positions to the internal kitchen [in-house]. When positions are formulated and must be realized, the deputies are to be actively included in the process. I would say that the committee, and even the Supreme Soviet must act as an "examiner."

NOVOYE VREMYA: Will all fundamental foreign policy actions be brought up for the judgment of the deputies and of the Supreme Soviet committee?

E. Shevardnadze: Absolutely.

NOVOYE VREMYA: Before or after their implementation?

E. Shevardnadze: That depends on the issues. I feel that if we speak of, say, negotiations associated with major financial expenditures, the negotiation process must be thoroughly discussed as well. And in my view, ratification is nevertheless the strongest control lever. It is known how the institute functioned until now: a purely formal ratification in the Supreme Soviet after balloting in the party organ. Now, considering the atmosphere being formed in the committees and in the Supreme Soviet itself, the ratification process will be complex. Diplomats must scrupulously ponder every detail of agreements so no problems arise later during their ratification.

NOVOYE VREMYA: The Soviet leader recently had a successful state visit to the FRG. Important documents were signed. Taking into consideration that it was already selected and functioning, were these documents discussed in the Supreme Soviet? And in general, is preliminary discussion of such bilateral documents and agreements planned?

E. Shevardnadze: I know that the opinion has been expressed that international treaties should go to the committee not after they have been signed, but in the preparatory phase. This issue requires serious study. On a practical level, preliminary discussion would probably not work out. And in general, I feel that this would not be expedient. There is no such practice anywhere in the world. Not simply because it essentially makes working with partners impossible; at best, it significantly prolongs the negotiation process. There is also a legal aspect here. The opinion of the committee is not the opinion of the parliament. It could happen that the ministry, working together with the committee, would conclude an international treaty, but the full body of the Supreme Soviet would not ratify it. So, as I said, the Supreme Soviet and its committee must act as "examiners" of the treaty in a single process, and that is possible only after it has been signed and presented for ratification.

And, of course, the deputies may be present as observers during the negotiations in order to have an idea of what is going on there. At the committee meeting, I proposed organizing a trip to Geneva where the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weaponry are now going on.

NOVOYE VREMYA: Imagine the following situation. You in the ministry have worked out an action and made a decision, but the Supreme Soviet is against it. What will happen?

E. Shevardnadze: It seems that a discussion will take place. And the decision is up to the Supreme Soviet. If this is a major miscalculation by the ministry or the minister, I cannot rule out the minister's resignation. Although, of course, this is not a desirable outcome.

NOVOYE VREMYA: Will the issues of aid to foreign states, both military and any other aid, be discussed in the Supreme Soviet committees?

E. Shevardnadze: These issues will be discussed. Assistance to foreign states is rendered on the basis of concluded treaties. They are subject to discussion by the International Affairs Committee after they are signed. If not all of them, then the basic ones. The Supreme Soviet and its committee have unlimited opportunities for control over the activity of the foreign policy departments. They can demand to be familiarized with any treaty.

NOVOYE VREMYA: But to have the final word?

E. Shevardnadze: Without a doubt. To have the final, decisive word.

NOVOYE VREMYA: My last question is directly connected with your everyday work. Over the last 6 months, the Soviet leader has made a series of visits to European states—London, Bonn, now Paris. What are the goals of Soviet diplomacy in Europe? Why is it that our foreign policy activity is now high on the European continent?

E. Shevardnadze: Well, in the first place, it isn't only now. It would be more correct to recall that we began to construct the concept of our relations with the European states, with the understanding of the deepening of the Helsinki principles, with the April 1985 plenum. The Helsinki process was developed by the Vienna agreements, which became reality owing in great part to the innovative approaches of the USSR and its allies. The negotiations on measures for trust and reduction of conventional arms in Europe offer the continent wonderful prospects. Humanitarian cooperation is expanding. Traditional contacts with France have returned to their normal previous channel. Contacts with Great Britain are being built upon a basis qualitatively different from the old one. A new chapter has been opened in relations with the FRG.

And second, Soviet diplomacy is not manifested only in Europe. Foreign policy thought is developing in all directions. There is the continuing dialogue with the United States. The normalization of relations with China fulfilled the mandate of many generations of Soviet people. Relations with India have been raised to a new level. The dialogue with Japan is developing on a steady basis. Perestroyka has transformed the very essence of interrelations with socialist countries, taking into consideration new realities and precisely differentiated approaches on the basis of respect, trustworthiness, and understanding of distinctiveness of development. I will say, however, that under the conditions of rapid changes and transformations in the countries of the community, we need even greater flexibility and tact, the ability to construct dialog in a new way, to seek and find nonstandard solutions in the interest of defending and saving all the discoveries [obreteniya] of world socialism.

But let's return to European affairs. We are indeed on very important frontiers now. A Europe of peace and cooperation is being born before our very eyes. The "Iron Curtain" is finally coming down, not without our active participation. M.S. Gorbachev's trips to England, the FRG, and France, and his speech to the parliamentary assembly of the European Council in Strasbourg can be ascribed to the course of the concept of the common European home, in which there is room for the United States and Canada. The architectural plan of the common European home is becoming a construction with fully concrete outlines. At its foundation are trust and expanding contacts among states on all levels and in all areas.

NOVOYE VREMYA: Thank you, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, for our conversation.

Krushchev Exhibition Opens in Moscow 1 Aug

LD0208022789 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—An exhibition spotlighting the times when the Soviet leader was Nikita Khrushchev opened in Moscow's youth palace today.

It features photos, documents, press clippings and other exhibits graphically illustrating developments from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s.

Entitled "Khrushchev. Those ten years", it is mostly meant for the young who have little knowledge about the man who led the country for a decade after Stalin.

The organisers were greatly helped by Khrushchev's family as well as by Moscow museums which offered material long kept out of the public eye.

New Custom Regulations To Take Effect 15 Aug

LD0108085989 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—New regulations governing the bringing in and taking out by Soviet citizens of things, valuables and currency" will be introduced in the USSR effective as of 15 August, 1989. [quotation marks as received] This was reported by Vitaliy Boyarov, chief of the main department of the state customs control under the USSR Council of Ministers, at a press-conference here today.

He said that the regulations would substantially facilitate the procedure of letting things through the boundary. The existing list of goods banned for bringing in or taking out has been shortened and some of the customs duties have been lifted or reduced. The regulations will apply to Soviet and foreign nationals as well as stateless individuals entering the Soviet Union or leaving it for any purpose.

Introduction of the new regulations will make redundant the hitherto existing quantitative restrictions on bringing goods to the USSR. Soviet citizens are granted the right to bring into the USSR and to take abroad things, valuables and currency without limitations or duties, if these are needed by them personally or members of their families and are not intended for sale. Such things have to have been acquired [words indistinct] brought to the USSR or taken abroad through the established procedure as [word indistinct] received as wages, stipends, royalties, bonuses and prizes. There is also a provision that things of significant artistic, historical or scientific value, including objects of religious [word indistinct] be taken to the USSR without customs duties and without any quantitative restrictions.

The customs duties levied on foreign-made cars, brought to the USSR, have been reduced 30 percent and the period limiting the right to selling them has been reduced to two years. A preferential regime is introduced for bringing in presents: A person may bring in without any customs duties up to 500 roubles worth of presents.

Customs duties have been reduced on fabrics, yarn products, linen and garments, spare parts for automobiles, audio- and video- cassettes, photo appurtenances, perfumes and cosmetics. The only thing on which customs duties have been increased are personal computers and soon synthesizers if they were purchased for means in excess of the amount of currency legally received or were presented.

Simultaneously with the introduction of the new regulations the Sheremetyevo-1 and Sheremetyevo-2 Airports as well as the airport and the sea port of the city of Riga (Soviet Latvia) will introduce a system of a "green" and a "red" corridors: Soviet nationals with no things requiring customs clearance do not fill out a customs declaration and proceed through the "green" corridor.

Jury Trials, Other Legal Reforms Discussed

18001352 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Deputy Minister of Justice V. Gubarev, by IZVESTIYA commentator Yu. Feofanov: "What Are Our Courts To Be Like?"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The general direction of the court and legal reform has been set forth in the resolution of the 19th party conference. The issue has been settled in principle, so to speak. How is this being carried out in practice, however? This is the topic of a conversation between IZVESTIYA commentator Yu. Feofanov and USSR Deputy Minister of Justice V. Gubarev.

[Feofanov] The time is near when local soviets of the "new model" and Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics are going to be elected. In turn, they are to elect rayon and oblast courts. To date, we do not know how this is going to happen. Perhaps, Vladimir Timofeyevich, the Ministry of Justice and the scientists have some ideas concerning this. Some preparatory work is to take place before the composition of a rayon court is submitted to the oblast soviet. What is it going to be? A list of judges corrected by the apparatus of the raykom [rayon committee of the party] that the deputies will automatically endorse? What the participation of the populace is going to be in selecting the candidates and discussing them? After all, we are encountering procedures for the formation of the people's court that are new in principle. I do not know what the mechanism is going to be, but I am certain that it must be democratic. Anything else would hardly be true to the spirit of the court and legal reform.

[Gubarev] I do not think the new mechanism of electing judges is less democratic than the old one. Under this procedure, it is not the composition of the court, as you put it, but every judge personally who will be elected for 10 years. The judges who have been elected after 14 December of last year pursuant to article 152 of the Constitution for a 5-year term will not have to run again.

I would like to hope that attempts to compile the lists of candidate people's judges by the apparatus will be reduced to a minimum. However, as you understand, such attempts cannot be ruled out. We are going through a complicated period now: Democratization and glasnost will not allow a return to the past, which the course of the elections of USSR people's deputies proves. However, these same elections show how strong the positions of proponents of the command system are in the field.

As far as the population is concerned, it definitely will take part in forming the court system. In what manner? Through the deputies, if nothing else. The justice organs, which will certainly get involved, are obligated to consult citizens in the process of selecting candidates. Opinions can be solicited and corresponding endorsements may be given in labor collectives and at meetings at the place of residence.

Besides, with a view to ensuring the nomination of deserving candidates for court work, the creation of an institution of qualification boards of judges is envisaged. Incidentally, this is also an elected body. It is expected that the qualification boards will evaluate the preparedness for court work of every candidate nominated for a people's judge for the first time, and hold a professional examination for candidate judges among those already on the bench. The issue of nominating a particular candidate will be resolved only after certification by them.

Still, how do I see the nomination of candidates? First of all, it should be strictly that of a person rather than of a list. We would like the candidates themselves to be definitely invited to a session of the oblast soviet in order to talk about themselves, their concept of court proceedings, and even to fight for the position of a judge. Not one candidate per slot, but at least two should be nominated in order for the struggle to be genuine.

They may object to me that there is a shortage of judges anyway for the 12,000 positions available, while I am talking about alternative candidates. There are many complications and problems in this matter. One of them, for example, is that some judges have already stated their reluctance to run in the elections. Why? Because their housing situation is poor, and the material and technical equipment of the courts is unsatisfactory. You have written about this on many occasions in your articles; letters of judges have been published. The repair of court buildings is such that it undermines the prestige of the state.

[Feofanov] I have also written about the fact that the judge needs to be "the premiere lawyer" of the region, in terms of salary as well.

[Gubarev] I am an optimist, and I believe that the issues will be resolved in the near future. Then it will be possible to overcome the hunger for cadres, especially if the authority of the judge increases sufficiently. At present, the country is experiencing an overall shortage of lawyers, and their ranks are definitely not being adequately replenished.

Let us go back to organizing elections. All they have been talking about recently are the functions of the Ministry of Justice, which they are calling into doubt, especially as far as the selection of judges is concerned. Allegedly, this is not the ministry's business. Whose business is it? That of the local authorities, the very ones who frequently pressure the judges? The function of selecting candidates exists objectively, and someone must carry it out. Why should it not be the Ministry of Justice? Is spontaneity better?

I repeat: the soviet has the ultimate say on the candidacy of a judge. People should be selected who will always remain independent. However, the law should also protect the independence of a judge, his prestige. As I and my colleagues see it, we should adopt a provision concerning the responsibility for interfering with the activities of the court in administering justice, switch to financing the courts from the all-union budget in order to exclude the factor of local influence, and introduce an oath of office for judges.

However, let us return to the role of the Ministry of Justice and its organs. Say there is verification of how the cases are being prepared for trial, how their consideration is organized, whether the time limits established by law are complied with in the process, and, finally, whether the decisions and sentences of the court are enforced. Should this also be taken away from the organs of justice? Also, there are various seizures of assets pursuant to sentences or rulings of the court. Who is in charge of them? Bailiffs, the only ones on the court staff who are appointed and relieved of their duties directly by the justice organs.

Nonetheless, I believe that more precision is needed in the basic legislation of the USSR and union republics on legal proceedings in the USSR. For example, the notion of "management" should be removed, and the statement should be affirmed that the justice organs determine the main avenues for organizing the work of courts, consider the scientifically justified norms of workload and conditions of work for judges, and take steps for implementing them in practice. That is to say, once again, that there is no interference at all in considering cases.

[Feofanov] At present jury trials are the talk of the town. They were even included in the programs of many deputies. Certainly, your point of view on this is also interesting, but I am talking about something else. In its format, our present court, as well, is quite democratic: There are three judges, and two of them are representatives of the people who can render the sentence against the opinion of the judge. In reality, they are sort of not there... However, deputies in the soviets were "sort of not there," too. The elections have shown the kind of struggle for the mandates of deputies which breaks out. The elections of people's assessors are in store for us. Do you, Vladimir Timofeyevich, believe that we would have a worthy democratic court without structural changes, provided the same kind of election campaign could be mounted? However, something must be done to this end. I am certain of one thing: A representative of the people in the court is no lesser a figure than its commissioner in the soviet.

[Gubarev] The issue of jury trials has been discussed for a long time now. Indeed, in present-day courts the assessors discharge their responsibilities in such a manner that no one is satisfied, despite representation of the people exactly ensuring genuine democratism of the court.

What is proposed? Essentially, there is not that much choice. There are serious arguments in favor of introducing jury trials. Ensuring the independence of the court more firmly is the main argument. Indeed, does it make sense to influence the judge if the issue of being guilty or not is resolved by representatives of the people rather than by him? However, there are weighty arguments against it. First, a juror is essentially a passive figure. He takes no part in the court investigation, and he does not have rights equal to those of the chairman, as the people's assessors do. Second, there are miscarriages of justice which the jury members especially can commit in complex and intricate cases. Recently, the "bouquet" of crimes has become more abundant, the technology of perpetrating them and the range in which they spread have been enhanced. Will jurors be able to sort everything out, decide who is guilty and who is not?

Now about another way of ensuring the independence of judges: an expanded panel of people's representatives including five to seven persons. Its members, guided by their consciences and awareness of the law, resolve the issue of guilt or innocence apart from the professional judge, absolutely independently, and subsequently resolve the issue of punishment together with the judge.

There is a third proposal: While staying within the framework of the existing system, increase the number of people's assessors for complicated cases.

Perhaps it is worthwhile to elect more people with law degrees as people's assessors, and draft as people's assessors on a broader scale the people whose profession is related to the category of cases considered, for example, accountants in cases involving padding, drivers in cases involving vehicular crimes, and so forth. All of these issues should be somehow resolved in the USSR Law "On the Status of Judges in the USSR" now in preparation.

As I see it, such work should proceed in this direction: Sharply increase the level of organization of people's assessor elections, because they are too formalized. Why should we not establish the institute of recommendations? They will be given by three persons who know the potential candidate people's assessors well, and by social organizations. This will make it possible to increase the responsibility in selecting candidates. As I have already said, it is time to recall that the present law as well does not at all forbid electing assessors at the place of residence. However, we hardly ever take advantage of this opportunity. After all, in this instance the participation may turn out to be higher than in a collective whose employees frequently live in a rayon other than the one in which the court is located.

[Feofanov] What is your attitude toward the following suggestion? This is how it happens at present in the deliberation room. Let us assume that one people's assessor disagrees with the ruling. They tell him: You write a dissenting opinion, but the sentence will be rendered anyway, since it has been adopted by the majority. Why should we not introduce into the law the rule of consensus: Only a unanimous decision makes the sentence legally valid. If one of the three does not agree, then there will be a retrial. This may cause a backlog of cases, but you would agree that a sentence looks strange if not all the judges agree with it.

[Gubarev] Certainly, the issue of unanimity of judges in ruling on the sentence is of interest. However, let us consider the following. Since even in a three-member panel of judges it is not always easy to come to a unanimous decision on all issues which call for a court ruling, and not only the penalty is in question, what is going to happen when there are more assessors? To my mind, we should take a different path in this matter. It works like this: as soon as a dissenting opinion is written, there should be a mandatory review by a higher court.

[Feofanov] However, the jury reaches a verdict only unanimously.

[Gubarev] I do not reject this idea in principle. However, we need to discuss everything seriously, taking into account the fact that changes of sentences and rulings by higher courts follow from the difference of opinions of lower court judges in the deliberation room.

[Feofanov] Certain cases, which will become increasingly numerous, are resolved by the judge alone—when administrative violations are at issue. The simplified procedure is rational, but it is fraught with the danger of arbitrariness, all the more so when the authorities put pressure on the judge, e.g., in punishing the participants of unauthorized meetings and demonstrations. So, they deliver a bunch of "troublemakers." Will the judges figure out everyone's case? What guarantee can there be that this is going to be a trial after all, and not an effort to take someone in hand without much consideration? In our stormy times it is particularly important for the judge in such a situation to be impartial and not to act just in order to curry favor with the authorities.

[Gubarev] This is a very complex issue. The situation is still more complex with regard to the category of cases you have referred to. At times, they try to influence the judges when such cases are heard. This is one of the focal issues of the court and legal reform, and it will be resolved by legislation in the law "On the Status of Judges in the USSR." Incidentally, the new criminal code should also contain a special provision on penalties for influencing a judge with a view to obstructing comprehensive, complete, and objective consideration of the case.

On the other hand, how can it be assumed that a yes-man, an official without a soul, sits on the bench, rather than an authoritative, independent judge who has lofty moral traits, a heightened sense of justice, and is uncompromising with regard to violating the law? Besides, we should not forget that any case, including that of administrative law violations, is subject to prosecutorial oversight.

[Feofanov] We have touched together on an array of issues that is far from complete, if we mean the court and legal reform in general. What is going on in the Ministry of Justice, as far as the preparation of new legal acts is concerned, in particular in the field of improving the structure of courts and legal procedures?

[Gubarev] With your permission, I will restrict myself to enumeration only. There will not be enough newspaper space for a detailed or even a brief account of them. The following draft legal acts have been prepared with the participation of our ministry: Law of the USSR "On the Status of Judges in the USSR," "Basic Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on the Structure of Courts in the USSR," ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On Amendments and Additions to the Law of the USSR 'On the USSR Bar.'"

Besides, I would like to note that at present the USSR Ministry of Justice is taking part in preparing suggestions for improving legislation on legal procedures that involve the reinforcement of guarantees of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Draft Law on Militia Rights, Duties Prepared

LD0208023189 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 1 Aug 89

["Soviet Militia: Normative Activity Needed"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—By TASS corespondent Nikita Demidov:

"A rule of law state requires for its establishment the USSR Interior Ministry's most active participation in law-making activity". This is what Valeriy Sergeyev, dr. of sc. (law) said in his speech during a briefing at the ministry today. Sergeyev is in charge of the office of legal backup for the activities of Interior Ministry bodies, set up recently within the ministry.

Set up on a USSR Council of MInisters decision, the office got down to work last March. Of the legislative acts prepared so far, Valeriy Sergeyev mentioned the draft law "on Soviet militia in society and the state, the principles and the legal and institutional foundations of its activity. A draft law "on responsibility for violations of the law in respect of individuals discharging their business duties or a public duty to protect public order and the rights of citizens" is also ready. Among other things, the draft law provides for a greater administrative and criminal responsibility for attempting on the life, health, honour and dignity of interior ministry officials and departments, internal troopers and law enforcement units as well as their close relatives. The Draft spells out the grounds on which special means and weapons can be used. In the short run the legal backup office will participate in working out draft laws on the prevention of violations of the law, on the procedure for organising rallies and demonstrations and on the duties and rights of the Interior Ministry's internal troops.

Informal Groups Registration Criteria Outlined

18001350 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Has Registration Been Denied?"]

[Text]**How are informal organizations registered? Who may be refused? [signed] S. Vasilyev. Tashkent.**

This question is answered by Yevgeniy Ivanin, chief specialist in the Moscow city soviet department for communication with the mass media.

Let me say at once that the term "registration" is incorrect. It would be more correct to talk about approval of the charter of informal or independent organizations. Our department, which was set up in January this year, like the legal department of the Moscow city soviet examines applications and confirms charters for the Moscow city soviet executive committee.

True, there are often cases in which a charter, program, or other constituent document of some organization is not in accordance with the legal, juridical, and public and political standards. In such cases we return the documents for amendment. If a group is small or is carrying on its activity in a specified region of Moscow, we recommend that it apply to the rayon executive committee for approval as an amateur association.

This year we have approved the charters of eight societies, including the Moscow society of professional men of letters, the chess union, the Moscow Suvorov club, and five national cultural societies. Another 20 applications are under review.

Regarding the informal political associations, we have not "legitimized" any of them since we have received no application from them. The organization that goes under the name of "The Committee for Social Safeguards" has submitted an application to the USSR Supreme Soviet, which passed it on for consideration by the Moscow city soviet. Our standpoint is that the "Committee for Social Safeguards" is not in line with the political orientation of our society and does not lend itself to its sociopolitical structure.

Information on "Dialog"

We have been in contact with the "Committee for Social Safeguards" and we have certain other ideas about that organization. Its aim is to protect the social and political rights of citizens. People are going to the committee for assistance when all other possibilities have been exhausted. The problems vary greatly: dismissal from work, housing questions, psychological help. The UN international society on human rights has granted the committee the right to use its blank forms. Is this not recognition of the social importance of the organization?

Despite being officially deemed unnecessary, the committee is trying to justify its name. Legal consultations are given and those so wishing are provided with lawyers during court proceedings, free of charge. Material assistance is provided for the homeless and those evicted, and for those taking part in strikes. Over the past 6 months these people have been given about R80,000 from a fund set up from donations. The committee has no other funds.

Any conclusion about whether or not to give the organization a political structure should probably be made not in accordance with the "legal and sociopolitical" standards, which cannot be simply determined, but in accordance with constitutional standards.

The 10 July 1932 resolution of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of People's Commissars, which is still in force, permits approval of voluntary societies and unions within republic organs. Accordingly, organizations like the "Association of Young Enterprise Leaders," the "Memorial" society, the "Ecological Society," and others have still not been given official status.

It is difficult, almost impossible, to orient oneself on laws that are more than 50 years old. It is difficult to frame new social phenomena and political movements—today's structure in society—on old resolutions. A new law is needed.

Foreign Trade Official on Consumer Goods Shortage

LD0108201889 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Tadeush Teodorovich, head of the main department for foreign economic policy of the Soviet Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, gave clarifications on a broad range of questions raised by people's deputies of the USSR about the ministry's and the whole foreign economic relations complex. He spoke at a meeting with Soviet journalists here today.

He spoke about the influence exerted by foreign economic relations on the home market for consumer products, establishment and improvement of a system of state regulation of foreign economic activity, economic assistance to foreign countries and the credit policy of the USSR, import of complete plants and their effective utilisation, and technical training.

Teodorovich said that the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations could not agree with the widely current view that the principal reason for a sharp decline in the supply of products to the trading network was their exports. The principal causes of the USSR's market shortages must be looked for in internal processes, such as growing wages, outpacing the growth in labour productivity, the painful transition from centralised planning to cost accounting methods, the closure of ecologically harmful industrial capacities, the acute ailments of the credit and finance system and the imperfect customs procedures. Of course during the reform of the foreign economic activity, with the development of direct links, of cross-border trade and barter operations, Soviet enterprises tend to increase exports of their products. But the January 1989 decision on the introduction of licensing for exports of household electrical appliances, watches and vehicles makes it possible to avoid excessive outflow of the products abroad.

Teodorovich cited examples to give the journalists an idea of the relation between Soviet export and import of consumer goods, foodstuffs and to indicate that their deliveries abroad could not exert any appreciable effect on the consumer demand on the Soviet market. He reminded the audience that the Soviet government had decided to allocate extra means to purchase consumer goods abroad in 1989-1990, worth a total of around 10 billion roubles.

Flood Puts Far East Railway Line Out of Service

LD0208102689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0824 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Vladivostok, 2 Aug (TASS)—As a result of the devastating action of a powerful flood, the Vladivostok-Khabarovsk railway line—the main transport artery of the Far East—was put out of action last night.

The Usuri and Malinovka Rivers burst their banks near the town of Dalnerechensk, and the torrents of water rushing toward the town damaged bridges and destroyed the railway's bed. Passenger trains from Kharkov and Moscow were forced to return to Khabarovsk. The locomotive crews driving trains from Vladivostok were forced to do the same.

About 1,000 passengers accumulated in Vladivostok's stations. Charter flights have been organized to let them depart, and more airplanes have been allocated. Mobile hotels have been organized in passenger trains, where passengers will stay during the reconstruction work. Special emergency teams from military subunits, border troops, and specialist railway workers, who have been deployed here from other towns, are working on eliminating this unforeseen congestion. The specialists estimate that it will take at least 2 days to eliminate the consequences of the accident.

As a TASS correspondent has been told at the maritime kray extraordinary commission for combatting disasters [name as received] that, according to incomplete data, 15 people have died as a result of the catastrophic flooding in the kray.

Naval Mines Explode in 19 Jul Train Mishap

18290232 Moscow GUDOK in Russian 21 Jul 89 p 3

[Report by GUDOK correspondent: "Explosion in a Train"]

[Text] Novosibirsk—**On 19 July at 1635 Moscow time, on the Gruzdevka-Kargat open line of the Western Siberian Railroad, freight train No 2916 was wrecked.**

Barabinsk engine depot engineer Sidorov and his assistant Zheltyakov noticed smoke coming from one of the four cars with special category cargo. They braked hard. The sailor escorting the special category cargo came running and reported that there were ship mines in the four cars, weighing 700 kilograms each, with 23 in each car.

At that moment, there was an explosion that killed two of the five sailors escorting the special category cargo. According to preliminary data, the detonators exploded from the fire. A crater measuring 4 meters deep and 6 meters long was formed at the line. The explosion strewed mines all about the permanent way. Fortunately, none of them exploded.

Train movement was interrupted. A special commission has left for the site; it will establish the causes of the accident.

Article Discusses Changes in Local Elections

18001351 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by I. Sidorov, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondent: "New Rules for an Old Game?"]

[Text] The March elections for USSR people's deputies, which resulted in a sensational result in Leningrad (all the top party and soviet leaders in the region were rejected), were echoed in June: Almost simultaneously two major new public organizations were formed in the city on the Neva. The 7,000-strong People's Front and the apparently less numerically strong, but just as active United Workers' Front appeared in an instant in political life.

We can only rejoice at people's activeness, people who have finally sensed that some things do depend on them, people who have awakened from their long years of political somnolence. And so why are my journalist colleagues going about with long faces? Why is it that for several days now the telephones have been ringing constantly in the editorial offices?

The constituent conference of the United Workers' Front took place on 13 June, and exactly 10 days later at a meeting of its Coordinating Council a resolution was adopted recommending that the Leningrad city and oblast soviets and the party obkom [oblast committee] and gorkom [city committee] hold elections for the local soviets late this year on an entirely new basis.

It is, in essence, simple. It is proposed that the territorial principle be abandoned in the elections and two-thirds of the people's deputies be elected directly at enterprises with a numerical strength of at least 1,000. The election committees and the election battles will all take place within the enterprise. Deputies, elected for each 1,000 workers, will then assemble at their own congress, where the Leningrad soviet will be formed.

What is so unusual about this? the reader will ask. No one is forbidden to describe plans, and this is democracy.

I am still talking about the reasons this plan has caused concern among the public in Leningrad. We are still looking into the origins of the ideas that underpin it.

"Few workers have become people's deputies!" These were the words that could often be heard in Leningrad after the elections. In fact, even fewer workers were elected to the country's highest organ of power in Leningrad than during the period of stagnation, when the proper "socialist proportions" were observed. Honor and glory to those who did make it. How to increase their numbers? Obviously by nominating true workers' leaders at the next elections, and preparing them for political activity and fair competition with other candidates.

But the United Front is proposing a quite different way.

Several days ago a workers' meeting attended by the leaders of the United Workers' Front took place at the Leningrad Magneton Plant. I refer to interesting particulars carried in the 6 July issue of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, where the meeting was described in detail. Let me cite just a few of the things said by those present. Assembly worker N. Andreyeva complained that in the spring the candidates in her electoral okrug were a worker and a docent, while in the neighboring okrug there was a female teacher and a professor; the worker and the teacher were not elected, but their competitors.... Secretary of the oblast trade union council V. Nikiforov, a member of the United Workers' Front Coordinating Council said: At the elections "those nominated were mainly those who skillfully criticized the reality; but who will do the work?" This was followed by this text: "...But what is it that Leningraders are proposing? The main thrust of the election campaign will be shifted to the labor collectives, where it will be difficult for chance people and irresponsible loudmouths to dictate their demands and conduct fraudulent agitation, which is what they did so successfully on the streets and in places where large crowds of people had gathered, which, naturally, the workers and employees and labor intelligentsia could not do...."

The idea of the authors of the plan is, in my opinion, simple: If few workers are being elected as deputies, then this means that it is necessary to conduct the election campaign on the territory of the enterprises.

This is something insulting to the working class itself in this open manipulation of it. Who at the Izhora plant has at any time interfered with the nomination of a worker for the post of people's deputy? But I did see the party leaders making every effort to make the sole candidate from Izhora the chairman of the Leningrad City Executive Committee, V. Khodyrev, who was then rejected by the voters.

Now let us consider the United Workers' Front and the secret of its unusual activity. Up to now I have not had occasion to meet with the people of the informal group, which on the 10th day of its existence put forward such a solid plan, and a little later would thunder all across Russia. What is the reason for this? Perhaps it is that in addition to well-known workers, USSR people's deputies, the movement's Coordinating Council also contains less well-known but nevertheless quite influential people: Leningrad party obkom member and first secretary of the Petrogradskiy party raykom [rayon committee] Yu. Rakov, oblast trade union council secretary V. Nikiforov, Leningrad Komsomol Obkom Secretary N. Dobrinov. For example, the list for the Coordinating Council includes S. Silantyev, "party worker, member of the society of scientific communism." Why not simply write that S. Silantyev is an instructor in the organizational section of the CPSU Leningrad Obkom? Of course, the facts alone prove nothing. No one can forbid communists, even apparatus officials, from joining the ranks of the United Front. Although even quite recently at a plenum of the Leningrad obkom and gorkom that took place immediately after the spring elections they did consider strict punishments for communists affiliated with informal organizations. In that same Petrogradskiy Rayon, for example, the raykom buro, which is headed by Yu. Rakov, expelled USSR State Prize laureate and milling machine operator G. Bogomolov from the party because of his affiliation with the United Front.... How, in this case, should we assess the fact of direct help from that same Petrogradskiy Raykom for the United Front? The editors of the large-circulation newspapers in the rayon were recently invited to the raykom for a meeting. The leaders of the United Workers' Front made special "appeals" to them to carry the essence of the election plan. The raykom recommended that these appeals be published....

And why are some party workers creating for the United Workers' Front a "most-favored regime?" Let me risk a hypothesis. The results of the spring elections and Leningraders' mistrust of "people from the apparatus" have scared many who must vote in the local elections. For them the seats in the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic, the Leningrad soviet, and the rayon soviets are problematical. But there is another possibility: an attempt to alter the election system itself and to introduce into it what seem at first blush to be democratic mechanisms insuring success.

The journalists of Leningrad asked the United Front to organize a news conference. On their behalf, I expressed this request during a telephone conversation with Yu. Rakov. In reply, Yuriy Yevgeniyevich made reference to the fact that the Coordinating Council was busy preparing for the plenum of the CPSU Leningrad Obkom and the Leningrad Soviet session. Is the United Workers' Front preparing to present its own initiative as a "Leningrad" initiative?

True, one obstacle does stand in the path of the plan: the USSR Constitution. In the opinion of Docent A. Belkin, candidate of legal sciences at Leningrad University, legal experiments are lawful only within the framework of the country's Fundamental Law. And the United Workers' Front "experiment" proposes that Leningrad will hold elections according to one law and the rest of the country according to another. But a law cannot be a Leningrad law or a Kazan law; it is a unified law for the entire state. There are also many other incongruities in the plan: The population is divided into two categories—those voting at the enterprises and those voting by territory—and there is a major change in the status of the local soviet, which is supposed to defend first and foremost the interests of of those living on its territory. We also often encounter this group egotism in the labor collectives, particularly those of central subordination. Will their representatives be thinking about the development of a territory if they obtain a majority in a soviet? Finally, is it not a strange thing to abandon direct elections of deputies to the Leningrad Soviet when now the president of the country is calling for direct national voting?

It seems that the disagreement with the Constitution is not bothering the authors of the plan for the deputy chief of the state and legal section in the CPSU Leningrad Obkom, V. Lapin, at that same meeting in the Magneton plant said the following: "...If this proposal is supported in the city's labor collectives, the legislator will not disregard it.... We, the lawyers, will make every effort...."

As a communist and a patriot of my city, I very much hope that the legislator will be able to disregard this proposal.

KGB Confirms Burial Site of Purge Victims

18001430 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 4

[M. Belousov report: "Forty Thousand Trees of Sorrow"]

[Text] Leningrad—**The secret of the Levashovo wasteland—the largest of the places established where on Stalin's orders some 40,485 Leningraders were buried—is no longer a secret.**

...An open gate in a fence. Empty dog kennels. The guardhouse. The smell of conifers and strawberries. Sunlight and the blue sky above the tops of the pines. This is the strangest cemetery in Leningrad. Here in pits two by three meters and two meters deep they threw those who had been shot in prison—the "Big House," the Leningrad Lubyanka, the "Krest" prison, the women's prison.

The area of land enclosed by the fence is 11 hectares. People were buried in six of them. About 40,000 pine trees grow here, along with birch, aspen, and mountain ash. There is about one tree for every innocent victim.

The last ones were brought here in 1950. There were six of them. Six corpses: Kuznetsov, Voznesenskiy, Popkov, Lazutin, Rodionov, Kapustin. Their executioners, who had fabricated the "Leningrad affair," were also buried here 4 years later. They were the former USSR minister of state security and his three assistants.

I walked 300 paces into the forest. I stopped at a crossroads. On three sides it was like in a fairy tale, with the paths overgrown by grass. For many, all three paths were paths to death. Along each of them were little mounds with fresh stakes—the grave markers. Carnations were placed on a stone at the crossroads. No one apart from the KGB people could have done it.

"From 1937 on I knew nothing about my father. Now I know where his grave is," my companion V. Muravskiy, an activist in the "Memorial" society, told me.

For 35 years four guards and the guard dogs were on duty behind the green fence, just 35 paces—I measured it—from a main road, and quite near the former residence of party obkom first secretary Romanov. One year, one pace. Who thought up this long road to the truth for us... And now this dead zone has been breached.

A.A. Kurkov, the chief of the USSR KGB administration for Leningrad Oblast, confirmed it for the journalists: "We have established that the burial of victims of the repressions was done in the region of the Levashovo station from 1937 on."

A copy was found of a document in the Leningrad soviet forestry administration dated 28 February 1938 making a request of the commandant's office of the NKVD special administration. It seems that they started to dig the two-by-three-meter graves here as early as the beginning of 1937.

Documents have been found showing that 46,771 sentences were carried out. There will be a law on archives that will enable if only the grandchildren, to find out how their grandparents were prepared for death. Some 6,286 will not be rehabilitated; these were the criminals and traitors, the spies, and the marauders of the time of the siege...

During the 6 months or more that the KGB has renewed the rehabilitation work, the Chekists have reached conclusions in 8,120 cases. Some 6,516 people have already been rehabilitated. This is still only one-sixth of the number in the interrupted rehabilitations of 1964.

How many more graves have still not been confirmed by the Big House? A colleague of mine from Volkhov, Yuriy Syakov, telephoned me recently and told me what had happened. Trying to reach the steep bank of the river, the barges with those who had been shot were unloaded by a precipice and then with a small explosion the bank was transformed into a grave... But try to find that in the documents!

"Perhaps the KGB archives are not in good order, and they were removed?" This is what I asked A.A. Kurkov.

"No," he replied. "The archives are in good order."

Of course, it is understandable, is it not, why this special project in the Levashovo wasteland should be preserved for such a long time? There is no answer...

The barbed wire has been torn down. And the veil has also been torn down around a secret that in one sense was the secret of Polishinel. Permission has been given to open a memorial cemetery here next year. The first people given permission to go beyond the fence on the Levashovo wasteland, onto this cemetery, were filmed, without fuss, by a KGB officer. And this is no secret either...

Opinions on Congress of People's Deputies Viewed

PM0507100589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by special correspondent Aleksey Khorev: "Ascent Toward Justice; Thoughts After Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] Sociologists and reporters have been run off their feet holding public opinion polls and ascertaining the views of various groups of the population regarding the results of the recently ended Congress of People's Deputies. The range of these opinions, appraisals, and viewpoints is so varied and so widely publicized that one wants to include even this phenomenon, inconceivable even a year or so ago, among the main results of the Congress' work. And of itself even the right to express this idea in the press without fearing the charge that it may not coincide with some leading statement is also begging to be included in the same list of main results. One people's deputy, observing the lines which appeared now and then for the microphone at the Congress, wittily remarked:

"What are they giving away?"

"They are giving the opportunity to express ourselves."

What a simple, what a great right this is—to express your opinion fearlessly and without caution about everything surrounding you, taking place before your eyes, and directly or indirectly affect the present or future interests of yourself and those close to you. At one time, under Lenin, this was the norm in the party and became customary in the country. But since then so much water has flowed by and we have been trained for so long to accept likemindedness and unanimity that today we are having to assimilate this norm and grow accustomed to it almost anew. Like learning to walk again after a serious illness...

"How can you dare to criticize a man as honored and respected as Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov?" an aggressively minded reader wrote to me in connection with a few comments of mine about the former people's commissar in a documentary sketch about him. "Bear in mind that we have remembered your name..." A direct threat, as we can see. But who can be frightened nowadays by this hopelessly obsolete weapon from the arsenal of times gone by if today sociologists ask anyone they meet the direct question: "What is your attitude toward the election of M.S. Gorbachev as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet?" and, in summing up citizens' replies, they inform the whole country that 65-70 percent of those polled support his election unconditionally, 20-40 percent support it with some reservations, and about 4 percent do not support it. That means that our president has received a nationwide vote of confidence. But it also means that a sizeable number of people (a small percentage but the absolute numbers extrapolated for the whole country are impressive) treats it critically.

In former times this would have been interpreted as an extraordinary occurrence on a state scale and could have entailed the "naming of names." But at the present Congress of People's Deputies the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and general secretary of the party Central Committee patiently listened to dozens of impartial rebukes and said in his concluding speech: "Comrade deputies! I accept the criticism leveled against me and against the political leadership..."

For many, even a great many, citizens of our country the place in N.I. Ryzhkov's report "On the program for the USSR Government's forthcoming activity" where he admitted to the entire people that nearly 40 million people live below the poverty line and that society and the state are responsible for this was a kind of epicenter in the work of the Congress of People's Deputies. From all the diversity of social problems which have taken shape in the country this problem was deemed the most painful, attesting to social injustice toward those people who have given society all their strength and health. As of 1 January the living standard of many pensioners and invalids will improve markedly.

An even larger contingent of our citizens welcomed with satisfaction the news of the creation of a commission of people's deputies to examine the complex of questions of the systems of benefits which has taken shape inside the state system.

For all the obvious "materiality" of these measures they cannot be separated from changes in the country's political life. Social justice is one of the main aims of the perestroyka policy proclaimed by the party. And such a lofty and noble aim in turn explains and guarantees nationwide support for this policy. For centuries alongside the very specific concept of "bread," which means the same as life itself, there has lived in the people's consciousness another, somewhat abstract, but no less precious concept, and it is called justice.

The well-known saying "man does not live by bread alone" always had in mind not only man's spiritual needs but also his need for justice. It is because of justice, understood, of course, in different ways, that our remote ancestors fought among themselves and against foreign invaders. It is because of justice that rebellions, uprisings, and revolutions have taken place and continue to take place to this day throughout the world. It is on the basis of the name of justice that Marxists have divided all wars into just and unjust wars. So what is justice? Whole philosophical treaties would not exhaust its content. But very briefly, regarding the subject of our conversation, it is the correlation between rights and duties, between action and retribution, between labor and reward...

We have all experienced some special, unwanted, attraction toward justice this year. Inwardly that has always been the case, of course. But this year this attraction has been supported not verbally but in deeds in the majority of cases by the leadership of the country and the party. A great deal is being done today, as never before, for the triumph of justice. In the 2 weeks of the work of the Congress of People's Deputies alone, enormous, not always, it is true, completed, steps were taken in this direction. But of itself the creation of deputies' commissions on a number of acute and complex issues instills considerable hopes for their just solution. These questions include investigating the reasons for the events which took place in Tbilisi 9 April this year.

Here it is appropriate to note that a tendency toward unjustified and unfair rebukes against the Soviet Army has appeared recently among some members of our society. "We are seriously worried," USSR people's deputy S.V. Chervonopiskiy said at the Congress, "by the unprecedented persecution of the Soviet Army which has developed in the mass media." This statement by a deputy, while slightly quick-tempered, met with such obvious support at the Congress that one supporter of this persecution saw in this support a prepared "military operation." But it is hardly necessary to prepare such a thing if it is clear anyway to any unprejudiced person that the Soviet Army has always selflessly served and continues to serve its people, that it is the first to come to their assistance in all extreme situations and circumstances. If, for instance, during the very days the Congress was working the first official report on the catastrophe in Bashkiria said that immediately after receiving the report military subunits were sent to the site of the accident... The servicemen put out the fires in the burning cars, evacuated the injured and the dead, delivered freight, and gave their blood for transfusions for the burn victims. They acted in the same way during the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia, the well-known catastrophes in Gorkiy and Sverdlovsk... In brief, as was said long ago, they go wherever there is trouble. Indeed, even without trouble, within the planned procedure, the Army now does a lot for the national economy—for instance it is laying roads in oblasts of the non-Chernozem. And all this, of course, without lowering its combat readiness.

So life itself does not allow creeping injustice to cling to our army's good name.

Life sometimes imperiously changes our ideas about what justice is.

When the law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution was adopted last year, many people were very cautious in their reception of Article 100 about how "every participant in an election meeting can propose for discussion any candidacies, including his own." They were, of course, confused not by "can propose... any candidacies," although that too was unusual, but by the fact that this could "include his own."

"Careerists are in luck," an officer of my acquaintance said on this subject at the time, paraphrasing Mayakovskiy (who said the same about the futurists). "They were already in no short supply in our country. Even before they would put themselves forward without a twinge of conscience for all suitable vacancies but this was done behind closed doors, and now it will be for all to see.

But this "for all to see" does, I think, mark the fundamental difference between what was and what has come to be. The absence of a publicized tradition of self promotion has made this action immodest in the eyes of society. Everything unwanted always jars on us and confuses us...

And now the elections have passed favorably. Among the candidates there were those nominated by others and those who nominated themselves. Making it as a deputy did not depend on that. It was mainly an individual's political, business, and moral qualities which decided it. And when at the very start of the work of the Congress of People's Deputies design engineer A.M. Obolenskiy nominated himself for the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet it no longer looked so strange as any self-nomination looked at the start of the election campaign. Several deputies called for a vote for Obolenskiy's inclusion on the list of candidates for the supreme state post. And although the majority voted against, of itself the fact remained a precedent not only in the memory of the voters but also in the democratic practice of our parliament.

That is obviously how this democracy will be consistently asserted with every passing day. That is how it will steadily lead justice forward. After all, Moscow was not built in a day. And our democracy not only has to build, it has to rebuild and rake aside former bureaucratic obstacles and eliminate relapses of social injustice. How many of these relapses have accumulated in various spheres of our life over the long years of the placid domination now of a cult, now of volunteerism, now of stagnation. Here is just one graphic example of the thoughtless implanting of flagrant injustice.

Not long before the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory a state decision was taken on awarding the Order of the Patriotic War to frontline servicemen. It was welcomed with gratitude in the country. But also with some perplexity. Those who were killed in the fighting were not even mentioned in this decision. Although everyone knows that they were the ones to pay the highest price for our victory—they gave their lives. How to explain this: What guided the legislator, what was his premise? Did he proceed, perhaps, from the premise that the dead feel no pain. But all of us and above all their sons, daughters, and widows, feel pain for them. Perhaps he proceeded from the premise that in view of the enormous number of victims it would be hard to implement the posthumous award decision? But that, first, is not an argument, because the dead went into battle spurning any difficulties. And, second, the entire implementation of such a decision could have been done purely symbolically. The mere mention in the decree of how all those who had died in the fighting were being awarded the Order of the Patriotic War class I (of course first class!) would have thundered as a salute from justice in their honor.

Alas, that did not happen. It did not happen because the decision was taken secretly, by the apparatus, without consulting with the people. The people would not have allowed state interests to be subordinated to bureaucratic ones, and would have demanded that the patriotic action of decorating the frontline soldiers be taken to its logical conclusion. Actually, I think it is not too late to implement it even now, for instance, for the 45th anniversary of the Victory, which is not far off. I know that it is easy to object to this proposal, citing the decision taken last year on improving the procedure for presenting state awards which provides in particular for renouncing mass awards. But let this posthumous award become the last mass one! I am sure that this exception to the rule would in no way contradict the principles of social justice.

Today, to our great regret, we cannot yet boast that we have fully realized these principles and assimilated them with our minds and hearts, that they have become second nature to us, an intuitive compass for life. Quite often still, in defending the interests of a particular group of the population, we fail to notice how at the same time we ignore the no less legitimate interests of another group. For instance, the press has frequently raised the question of where, into which sector, we should channel the funds released as a result of the reduction of the military budget. What proposals have not been made for using them, but every proposal has been outside the Army. The Congress of People's Deputies, fortunately, decided wisely and justly to use some of these funds to improve the material and daily living conditions of servicemen and their families.

As for the recently adopted decision tc grant students a deferment of military service, it pleases students but does not entirely please soldiers. The soldiers grumble: Look, our contemporaries who have become students are relieved of the hardships of army service and in the summer in addition they have a long vacation. Yet it would seem that no one has taken from us our constitutional right to take leave. So perhaps it is time to provide for leave for the soldier not as an incentive but for everyone? Of course, funds will also be needed for that. But they can also be found in connection with the reduction of the defense budget.

One important avenue in asserting social justice is undoubtedly the rehabilitation of the innocent people repressed during the years of the Stalin cult and the exposure of the specific culprits in these repressions. What, it would seem, could be more indisputable than that! But there are naive and blinkered people (I make no mention of those with an interest in the matter) who are ready to exonerate all party and government leaders of that time, except for Beria, of blame for the mass repressions. The following artless and unprincipled argument is put forward here, for instance: As a whole they weren't bad people, but it could happen to anyone!...

What is this—a happy, kind, forgiving nature which knows how to forgive insults and give absolution for sins, or moss-covered indifference and a poor imagination which prevents you from conceiving of and understanding another's grief, even if that "other" relates to many thousands of your compatriots? Most likely, of course, it is indifference. And if it is kindness then it is kindness at another's expense and that, as they say, is six of one and half a dozen of the other. Of itself, of course, it is not a bad thing to defuse some conflict situation in daily life with the peace-loving rejoinder: It could happen to anyone!

But repressions are not trivia, not mere details. They mean the distortion of ideas, a crime against socialism, innocent human lives which have been ruined. And we have nothing in the world more precious than life. The right to life is the supreme boon and the supreme justice. The best minds of mankind in all times have extolled this right and composed odes and hymns to it. Our great Dostoyevskiy for over 100 years now has forced the entire civilized world to remember the ruined life of an old woman pawnbroker... And against that background how can we utter, with respect to the death of so many innocent people, the most trite phrase: "It could happen to anyone!"

You cannot help thinking that one of the gravest consequences of the time of the Stalin cult and the mass repressions is that in the consciousness of a considerable number of people human life itself has become associated with small change... And if like is a kopek, any aristocratic and intellectual trivia like honor, dignity, and justice can be dismissed completely...

Not that long ago I talked with the parents of a soldier tried by a military tribunal for affronting a young fellow servicemen. Someone had told the parents that the newspaper could defend their son better than an attorney. Before visiting the editorial office they had already visited the division commander and the chief of the political section where their son served and the prosecutor's office of the garrison which had investigated his case. None of them had given them any hope, because the crime had been committed and proved. But they are convinced that this case is a mere trifle: Just think, all he did was strike a comrade! And they believe that their son was put on trial solely because the division commander did not like him.

"That's enough," I told them. "Did the division commander even know your son? His service keeps him remote from the soldiers."

"He did know him, he did," the father and mother assured me in unison. "There had been a fight in the barracks before and after that the colonel had a talk with our son and since then he has disliked him..."

Of course, you can understand the parents' grief, but their opinions are built on the same weak logic: "It could happen to anyone." And they cannot generate any sympathy.

"Just think, all he did was strike him!"... But do people not understand that there is no more serious insult to an individual than a physical insult! Do they not know the meaningful and famous fact that Vera Zasulich, as her revolutionary conscience decreed, shot city governor Trepov at point blank range precisely because he had ordered a man to be flogged?

As long as sons receive from their fathers the view that insulting and humiliating the individual is a trifle, relapses of "hazing" can live on...

...Now, in the period of perestroyka, we are all drawn to justice. But to some of us it is only what is, as they say, in our favor, what accords with our way of thinking or at least does not affect us ourselves or our own interests, that seems just to us. And that, alas, is wrong. Justice is an objective concept. It is higher than the personal, it is on a par with the public, it considers not only "mine" but also "ours." Our social morale, our working mood, even our cohesion, our union, and our strength depend to a considerable degree on a correct understanding of this concept.

Krasnodar Kray First Secretary Interviewed

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Interview with I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom, by V. Udachin: "Let Us Honestly Admit"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] *Why are we suffering defeat in our political work? Whom does the party need to conduct in-depth restructuring? How do we raise our flagging authority and find understanding among the masses?*

[Udachin] Ivan Kuzmich, we learned about you in the newspapers almost a year ago right after the July Central Committee plenum. That does not seem like a long time but so many things have occurred during it, the most important being the elections of the USSR people's deputies and their first congress. During this year the party as the vanguard of society underwent a serious test of the durability of its positions and withstood a powerful political blow. The party role and its authority became the most animated discussions. In essence, the polemic developed around the way the reform of the political system was developing and the position and principally new tasks of the party. And some party workers became confused and panicked.

[Polozkov] Indeed, even certain experienced party workers who, it would seem, had been through fire, water, and copper pipes, fell into depression. I hope it was temporary. The transitional period that we are now experiencing turned out to be so stressful that the party committees ended up in an extremely difficult situation. The process of politicization of the masses became more active, to which both the elections and the USSR Congress of People's Deputies contributed. People became more demanding and exacting with respect to the final results and are openly expressing their dissatisfaction with them. This dissatisfaction is increasing because there are too many rubles and not enough goods, because the marketplace is empty. During 3 years of the five-year plan the income of the kray's population increased 1.232 million rubles, but our production of consumer goods increased by only 681 million rubles. The situation in the Kuban and in the country as a whole has been aggravated in all areas. First of all in the economy, where old, traditional ties have been broken and new ones have not been made and—what is especially alarming—the administrations of enterprises, construction projects, and farms frequently do not know where to place the orders, where to find new partners, under what conditions to conclude agreements, and so forth. Or take housing. During the 3 years 5 million square meters of it have been constructed in the kray, but the waiting list has not only not decreased, but has increased by 70,000 and now includes 213,000 families. There is a growing unsatisfied demand for home telephones, hospital beds, and, in places, children's institutions and schools and recreation bases. And the people are demanding—and justly—that life be improved and social problems be solved as quickly as possible.

[Udachin] The index of social impatience, if one may call it that, has increased sharply.

[Polozkov] And this increase influences the attitude toward party committees and soviet organs. It is becoming more and more difficult to explain to the people why "gaps" appear out of nowhere, how this happened, for example, with laundry powder and soap, salt and matches... How does one answer a combine operator when he asks why at the height of the harvest there is not enough gasoline or diesel fuel? Why is finding construction materials like finding a needle in a haystack. We tell the people to build, but there have been no materials for practically 2 years. During this time 212,000 garden plots have been allotted in the kray, 805 new garden and orchard societies have been organized, but there are no materials for building—we cannot give the people bricks, timber, or roofing. If there does happen to be something for sale, it is included in limits for planned construction. We are pulling at the tattered "blanket" from all directions.

These social demands are not being satisfied primarily because we are changing over to the new management methods very slowly. Any question is related to the economic reform. The new economic mechanism is making timid moves, but the old one will not yield its positions, both in the center and at the levels of the kray, city, rayon, and labor collective. There are many reasons for this, but the main one, in my opinion, is that the people who have become accustomed to receiving salaries regardless of how things go do not want to change anything. And yet these are the very people on whom the advancement of leasing, the contract, and economic accountability depend. They do not wish to enter into these systems and take the responsibility, just as many workers and kolkhoz [collective farm] workers do not wish to become owners. On the one hand, we want the satisfaction of additional orders, and on the other, we cannot realize even those possibilities that exist. We could do considerably more if we were to exert more active pressure on the economic mechanism. It is all a matter of economics.

[Udachin] We have not gotten sidetracked, Ivan Kuzmich, so much as we have gone backwards. We intended to speak about party work under the new conditions and we are still running into economics.

[Polozkov] It is not so much that we have gotten "sidetracked" as that this is life. Let us recall Lenin: For us economics is the most interesting politics.

[Udachin] But still, if one is to speak about a reform of the political system, one of its cornerstones is the delimitation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs. A good deal has been said about that, but the problem is "up in the air"... As the first secretary of the Krasnodar Gorkom [city committee], N. Gritsenko, said at a recent meeting of the aktiv of the kray party organization, that same "field-store" vegetable conveyer works according to the principle "bureau-field, bureau-store"...

[Polozkov] We do a lot of talking about delimiting functions. But in practice? At the republic level no changes have taken place. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Gosagroprom [state agroindustrial committee] is the same as it ever was. No changes are taking place in it, all the structures are the same, and they are operating by old methods. And our restructured Krasnodar agroprom—it is now the agroprom union—has been forced into the same rut in which the old agroprom of Russia traveled. It holds everything in its hands—limits, funds, resources—and this means it has the real power. Note that so far no proposals for restructuring have been made either by the Gosagroprom itself or by the republic government. Or new organs have been created—main production and economic administrations under the kray and oblast ispolkoms [executive committees], which are intended to be the coordinators of all economic organs in the interests of the region. But what is the reality? So far there are no provisions concerning the Main Production and Economics Administration. We do not know what it is supposed to do, what its economic ties with the enterprises and other economic subdivisions are, or how these ties will begin to affect the local budget. And yet we proclaim "All Power—to the Soviets," we speak about the economic independence of the regions, economic accountability, self-financing, and self-support. Yet we are living with the old budget, with the old system of financing and material and technical supply, and the soviets have been given no additional power, and no structural changes have been made in them. But how can we expect them to work more actively, and still hope that they will relieve the party committees of functions that do not properly belong to them and give them the opportunity to restructure themselves?

[Udachin] I do not know how you, Ivan Kuzmich, a member of the Central Committee and a participant in the April plenum, feel, but when I read the stenographic reports it seemed to me that in the speeches of certain of your colleagues there was outright nostalgia for the old pressure methods of leadership. And they openly condemn the selection of leaders, a process which is progressive, in my opinion, and which began, incidentally, in Krasnodar...

[Polozkov] And it is continuing. During the past years 10,000 leaders have been elected and two-thirds of them have been elected on a competitive basis. In spite of all the costs, and they exist as they do in any matter, the selection of leaders deserves support. It is another matter that the party committees are not always able to convince the people of the need to select one candidate or another, but this is a subject for a different conversation.

[Udachin] I do not think we will get around it. I return to my impressions from the stenographic report of the April plenum. People were dispirited about the lack of instructions from the Central Committee and the lack of editorials to be used as guidelines in PRAVDA and other party publications, not to mention the desire to blame the press for all social cataclysms, which, fortunately, you managed to avoid in your speech at the plenum. How can we restructure party work if we continue, as before, to look for instructions from the center, if we do not understand its creative nature? What, in your opinion, is the essence of the restructuring of party organs in the present stage?

[Polozkov] A difficult question. A cluster of intraparty problems is concentrated here. Let us take them in order. Well, in the first place the restructuring of the work of party organs is still proceeding and, in my opinion, outpacing these processes in the soviets and the economic sector. The party apparatus has been reduced by a third and branch departments have been eliminated. But the problem is that no one has taken over their functions. And the result is that the load on the party apparatus worker has increased two- or threefold. Take the department for the agrarian policy of the kray committee. It used to have 26 people and now has 13. But do you think it deals with the policy? It never has. The department scares up gasoline, spare parts, rubber, carbide, and electrodes, and it writes letters and telegrams and maintains direct communications with the suppliers because the supply system has broken down. And in these circumstances the kray ispolkom [executive committee] has exhausted its arguments, the agricultural supply organization has been eliminated, and the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] has not taken over its functions. The kray committee would be glad not to intervene in economic business, but it is forced to. One must not halt the grain harvest because of a furl or batteries simply in order to adhere to the principle of delimitation of functions. The principle will not feed us. Grain is still a political category. I am convinced that simply the fact that the kray committee and the city and rayon committees in the Kuban are paying less attention to animal husbandry this year will reduce the production of meat and milk, which will inevitably be reflected in the provision of food for the population. Such is the reality. What methods can be used here? Socialist competition has almost become a thing of the past, and people are even becoming cool toward review-competitions. But nothing has been provided to replace them, to make people more active and concentrate the attention of local party organizations on unsolved problems. We are not prepared for political work. On the one hand, greater demands are being placed on the party apparatus and on the other; the traditional old methods have been overthrown. This is why many secretaries have become confused. In the past they were good specialists but they bring to party work an economic style of leadership. You know the secretaries of our rayons and you will probably agree that at the present time they are the best businessmen in their rayons. But they are not prepared to work in the new way, and therefore we are failing at political methods. And when we speak about the flagging authority of the party and the decreasing role of party committees, including the party apparatus, we should look for the roots of the problem here, and the level of preparation of party personnel.

[Udachin] But, to use a current phrase, the secretarial corps is also a product of the times. And does it not foster the desire to keep party work at the previous level? Certain secretaries openly complain about the elimination of the branch departments, but in fact their functions are transferred to "organizers." Are we not just marking time?

[Polozkov] It is all much more complicated than that. The essence of the restructuring of party work is democratization of party life. And a certain amount has been done in this direction. But the feeling of dissatisfaction does not leave us. By reducing the apparatus and rejecting branch departments we have only made external adjustments, which was a spontaneous reaction to public opinion and criticism from the party apparatus. The impression is that we have aimed not at the essence but at the derived aspects, the external form. And there have actually been no essential changes in the work of the elective organ itself. The functions of party organizations have not changed; they are relying on their vocal chords as before, and under these conditions the party apparatus must either adjust itself or return to the old pattern, which is apparent from the practice of certain party committees. They have actually disarmed. But they should be arming themselves. And there is only one path here: democratization, actions through the people, and the primacy of the elective organ. Everything should be done out in the open, without hiding from people. Look at the arguments that have developed around the party and its role in the society. Some are demanding that we abolish the 6th article of the Constitution, which reinforces its leading role, and others want to deprive the party of this and that. And it is quite clear that under these conditions the party itself must be restructured, and much more rapidly than the society—this is the conclusion of the April Plenum and the Congress of People's Deputies—if they want to be the leading force of renewal.

[Udachin] Have we not had enough self-flagellation, as the senior secretary of the kray committee, V.P. Sergeyko, said at a recent meeting of the aktiv. It has gone on a little too long in the party, and if this is all we do, the restructuring will not be successful.

[Polozkov] I agree with Vasiliy Petrovich. Repentance certainly does not mean the party's renunciation of its ideals and program goals. It means a correction of the mistakes and distortions and self-purgings of everything that stands in the way of renewal. Let us get on with a practical restructuring of the party. How do we master new political methods? I envision three basic directions. The major point for the application of our efforts should be the local party organization.

[Udachin] At the April plenum you said that the party committees are not armed with an instrument for working with the local organizations. What kind of instrument did you have in mind?

[Polozkov] First of all, the selection of secretaries. We must reach a point where each party organization is headed by a real leader, and we must get rid of the stereotypes we have applied to them in the past. If a person is a secretary he must have a solid position in some service and have a higher education. And we need an active, involved person who enjoys authority. In a word, he must be the cream of the crop and not someone who is selected for the convenience of the instructor-curator of the rayon committee and the leader of the enterprise, especially in small party organizations, which make up the majority. Unfortunately, in the last report and election campaign one could clearly sense a desire to elect as secretaries the people who had the least work to do—personnel specialists and office workers. Perhaps they are conscientious communists, too, but they will not rally the people to become involved in the restructuring. And the primary task of the forthcoming reports and elections in the party groups and shop organizations is to elect as leaders people who are already effective leaders of the collective.

Of the 9,000 secretaries of local organizations, only 9 percent have been relieved of their other duties. The demand for secretaries who continue with their other duties is also increasing, but to be honest, I cannot bring myself to punish them. They are so overloaded with current work that they sacrifice their free time. And when communists like these are elected to the bureaus and committees, they never do a thing throughout the entire report period. So let us think about whom we elect to a bureau or committee. Again—according to his position. Directors are needed; representatives of the leading service—absolutely; and as a matter of form—more rank-and-file communists.

During this report period we intend to do that. Each collective has its crucial priority problems. And if we want to increase the party's influence on their solutions, the elective organ must include people who will deal with them and supervise them. Let there be one person, if he can handle it, or party committee commission under his leadership, or a group for monitoring the activity of the administration, but it is necessary to select a communist who is suited for the problem in terms of his interest. So far it has usually been the opposite. Here is an example. The director of the Armavir electrical equipment plant, V. Gadskiy, was elected to the party committee and instructed to work with the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League]. During the entire report period he did not attend a single Komsomol meeting or a single meeting of the Komsomol committee. Why? Gadskiy had never worked with the Komsomol and did not know a lot about the life of youth... What could he bring to the Komsomol organization? Exactly nothing. And yet, among the communists at the enterprise there were probably those who could help the plant Komsomol change the directions and forms of the organization's activity. And the director could find "his own" work in the party committee.

[Udachin] The election of a secretary-leader and an effective group of members of a bureau or party committee undoubtedly increases the militancy of the local organization. But does this reach every communist; does it arouse him and draw him in to the restructuring?

[Polozkov] Yes, we still have plenty of party members who are inactive and lack initiative. All of them must be somehow motivated and brought into active political work. At the meeting of the aktiv we determined that we would have a conversation with each communist. A frank and open one, without formalities. These conversations will help determine the ones on whom we can rely and the ones of whom we should ask more... We must look to see if each communist is standing firmly on his own two feet, if he is internally capable of feeling like a party fighter, defending its ideas and values, and fighting for restructuring—that is, proving in word and deed that he belongs to the CPSU. Whether we like it or not, this is what we must do. I consider it necessary to look into the past as well—to find out how we accepted them into the party.

[Udachin] Those who had charge of the questionnaires would be the ones to determine....

[Polozkov] The person who distributed the questionnaire, the reasons he had for handing it out—these mean a great deal. We shall not make a wholesale accusation of all people who "hold" questionnaires, but let us state it openly: protectionism, group prejudice, total indulgence, and the psychology of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" have played no small role in the invasion of the party by self-seekers, bribetakers, and corrupt elements. Today admission to the party must be looked at through completely different eyes and requirements must be increased. Fewer workers are entering the party now. I do not think it is worthwhile to make a tragedy out of this. The main thing today is to select those the party needs to carry out the restructuring. Look at how many active new individuals about whom we knew nothing have emerged due to the elections. Many of them do not belong to the party. So the party must be augmented.

Another fundamental aspect: More people have been voluntarily turning in their party cards. While last year there were 211, in 5 months of this year there have been 610 of them. What is this: desertion during a period that is difficult for the party, opportunism, or something else?

[Udachin] Or perhaps it is a natural process of self-purging of the party?

[Polozkov] Probably. The question of purging the party was raised at the 19th party conference. I see no reason to be afraid of this word. And the problem is still open; I am sure that it will be raised again at the 28th Congress. Now we must carefully analyze the causes and effects. As it turns out, many people are turning in their party cards because their own personal demands have not been satisfied—for example, they have not been able to buy an automobile. You will agree that there is no cause to grieve the loss of such "communists." There are those who are dissatisfied with the course of the restructuring, but will "leaving the party" help anything? We cannot but be disturbed by the fact that party veterans are leaving the party. There are various reasons: illness, feebleness, the negligent attitude of youth... Here it is important to develop a strictly individual approach for each person.

[Udachin] An individual approach—is this not the basis for political methods? How does one steep them in politics and regard political and ideological work as the most interesting work in the party?

[Polozkov] I shall begin with a concrete example. The Belorechensk City committee began to actively take advantage of public opinion for making decisions. By bureau decree a center was created for studying public opinion. Its structure includes four groups: an analysis group; a group on expert evaluation and introduction of advanced practice; a research group; and a social acceptance group. A service named "Your Attitude" has been created. I think this should be a major direction for the change in ideological work. It is now in some kind of undefined state. It must be clarified as quickly as possible. Both our central ideological institutions and the kray committee are working too slowly in this area. We must light the way in which to direct philosophical work.

What are people being called to now? To a regeneration of our values—collectivism, comradery, mutual assistance, kindness, and mercy. In recent years we have been attracted by the so-called ideological support for economic tasks, and the entire system of political education has shifted in this direction. This is important in and of itself, but the educational process affects more than just the support for particular tasks. Today we must look at culture on the broader plane—at the human values it forms.

[Udachin] Academician Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev was right when at the congress he asserted that neither economic laws nor moral ideals will spring up when the culture is poor.

[Polozkov] All ideological work must be turned toward man, toward the individual. If we place man in the center of the restructuring, if we concentrate the entire party policy on him, then let us look at him from within and help him get rid of certain things, to become better and more tolerant. But what do we have now? Callousness, coarseness, boorishness, malice, rejection of others' viewpoints, and the inability to respect people. We must get rid of all this. I mentioned the Belorechensk City committee. Studying public opinion means taking into account people's interests and even, if you will, their characters in the practical policy of the city committee. In Tikhoretsk they are arranging a system of individual work with people who need help getting rid of bad habits, and it is producing a good effect. If we deal with the human sphere, "humanize" party work, then everything will improve—the economy, the law, politics. And we should carry out restructuring with the people with whom we live and work. And we must know and understand them.

Why have many party workers been defeated in the elections? Because, first of all, the voters knew little about them and they did not go to the people. I experienced this myself, especially during my meeting with university students. The discussion—a political one!—lasted 4.5 hours. At first I felt a keen mistrust. They did not know me, they had not seen me, and, as the students themselves said later, cock-and-bull stories had been spread about me—that I could not speak, that in general I was a callous person. By the middle of the discussion they began to "warm up" and after that we reached mutual understanding. As a result, the university voted for me. But let us honestly admit that many party workers have relied on the apparatus and have gone neither to student dormitories, nor shops, nor dining rooms, nor military units. For many years they have lived in isolation; people knew essentially nothing about them; and a stereotype of a party worker developed—a kind of faceless official, a bureaucrat... This is where we have had and still do have losses. And yet a party worker should be a leader. He should not be afraid to go to the people. I would include in his job description that he must not act against his conscience and should speak honestly and straightforwardly. This is the only way to make people understand you. There might not be unanimity in certain issues. But so what. If you have not been able to convince them, then learn to respect another's opinion, and draw from it certain conclusions for yourself.

[Udachin] Ivan Kuzmich, are you not encroaching on the principle of democratic centralism? You yourself said somewhere that the party is not a discussion club.

[Polozkov] After the adoption of a decision. But before that why not discuss things, why not try to find out the viewpoint of each worker and hear a number of opinions and proposals? Both the congress and now also the session of the Supreme Soviet are demonstrating their freedom of expression of their will. The very act of offering the podium for the expression of opposite opinions has made it possible for the audience to "mature" during the course of the discussion and come to some conclusion. And then those who were in the minority left the podium with a feeling of having done their duty and submitted to the decision of the majority.

The question of democratic centralism is most crucial today. It must be admitted that for a long time we understood this principle in distorted form: "If you do not wish to—do it," "Do not think—do it," "Do not make any stipulations—do it." This is what we must get away from. How? One thing is clear: The party cannot get by without discipline. Discipline—party and executive discipline—must be there, but after the decision is made, and it must be strengthened. Since the decision is made on a democratic basis, taking people's opinions into account, discipline is transformed from conventional, "military" discipline into creative discipline; it approaches the freedom that is a recognized need. Then we take a step in the direction of intraparty democracy—toward party camaraderie, toward party obligatoriness. Then democratic centralism as the fundamental norm of party life acquires primary significance. And until this is present, many party decisions—at any level—will not be implemented. And if we wish to achieve results from party work, we must radically change our approach to the development and adoption of decisions. Everything must be done openly, democratically, and concretely. We are already trying out this practice in the party organizations of Temryukskiy Rayon.

Recently we have begun to resolve personnel and "nomenklatura" problems this way as well.

[Udachin] The nomenklatura is also a crucial problem. Some people want to get rid of it, some people want to share the personnel monopoly with the soviets, and some people want to retain it.

[Polozkov] Let us turn to history. Any more or less serious political school that has come to power has first taken control of such a lever as personnel. If our party intends to carry out restructuring, it must think about how to keep hold of this lever and how to use it. For what is the nomenklatura? It is a list of the most promising workers, a bank of information about them. If this information bank is needed, and it definitely is, then in whose hands should it be? Probably in the hands of the party, which has taken the initiative to renew the society. It must also work with the nomenklatura. How to reshape it is another matter. We still have closed selections and a closed reserve. And we must in all ways democratize these processes, candidly explain the reasons for personnel transfers, and inform the people of the candidates for one position or another.

And this is what we are trying to do. All of our candidate selection is out in the open. Before being elected kray committee secretaries, V. Brazhnik and Yu. Azarov were first discussed at meetings of the kray committee commissions, where there was a frank discussion without the slightest hint of hypocrisy. Not the apparatus but an elective organ decides; it is the one that chooses. Although I must admit that we are just at the beginning of the road when it comes to increasing the activity of elective organs, and we still have more questions than answers. If at the next kray party conference we are able to elect more strong young people to the kray committee without being bound by the fetters of the past, if we look for nontraditional forms of political influence, I think the kray committee will be able to operate as it should under the conditions of restructuring. And after that there will be a chain reaction through the rayon committees and local organizations. The impetus must come from here.

Today the people need only practical results; words will no longer strengthen faith in restructuring or bolster the party's flagging authority. This means we must go to the local party organizations, go to the people; we must tap that well that exists in the heart of each person, we must tap in to their interests. The main thing is man. On the path to him lie political methods of work. People must know and see everything, we must consult with them, and everything must be decided through them. Then the decisions will fit in correctly to the larger plan. The party will be the vanguard if it knows what the people want. It must not command, not administer, not give orders! It must be aware of attitudes and be able to translate them into the language of practical actions: This is the art of political leadership that we still must master. And the sooner we do, the better it will be for the fate of restructuring and the country.

Casualties Reported in Kiev Building Collapse

LD0208203189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A building collapsed a few hours ago in Kiev at the central entrance of the main post office. [video shows street scene in the rain, passing people and traffic]

These shots were taken literally in the first seconds of the tragic event. It so happened that television operator Sergey Kurilik was making a report about the weather for a Ukrainian television news program. It was pouring when suddenly at 1620 the usual noise on busy Kreshchatik [Kiev's main central thoroughfare] was broken by the sinister roar of the collapse. [video shows damaged building]

Columns and several balconies at the entrance to the multistory building were cut down as though with a razor blade. At that time it was especially crowded here and visitors to the post office and passersby hurrying to the metro station, which is next to the post office, ended up under the rubble. [video shows people digging with their hands at the rubble; brief view of somebody pulled out]

There are casualties. Within 10 minutes the fire brigade, ambulances, employees of internal affairs bodies, and the city's party and local soviet leaders arrived at the scene of the accident.

A headquarters has been organized to eliminate the aftermath of the collapse.

The Kiev main post office was built in the 1950's, and recently it was being prepared for reconstruction. Unfortunately, the specialists responsible for this work, having had the entrance to the building enclosed in scaffolding for a long time, did not begin the main work. The pouring rain that has occurred recently evidently speeded up the destruction of the old supports of the roof and columns.

Even by this evening the reasons for the accident are being investigated by a commission.

Medical assistance is being given to the injured. At this moment, as the Vremya program is ending, the main work to eliminate the collapse has already been completed.

Further on Accident

LD0308063189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0540 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow 3 Aug (TASS)—Six people dead and three wounded—this preliminary data on the number of victims of the tragedy in Kiev, the collapse of the portico of the main post office, was given by Ivan Gladush, the minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukraine, in an interview in the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

The newspaper reports that former soldiers who were gathered for a traditional meeting of paratroopers were the first to start the rescue work. A special militia detachment then joined in the work as did the fire brigades of the capital of the Ukraine.

The reasons for the sudden collapse of the portico, the minister emphasized, will be determined by specialists.

Vacationers Return to Abkhaziya Resort Areas

LD0208194989 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Tbilisi August 2 TASS—GRUZINFORM-TASS—The first Airbus filled to capacity has landed in Sukhumi, seaside capital of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhaziya which was recently hit by disorders, for the first time over the past fortnight, bringing more than 300 foreign vacationers from Moscow.

The streets of the health resort are bustling again and car traffic is busy.

Life is also getting back to normal in other cities and villages in the region. Public transport works smoothly, and long-distance buses, trains and aircraft leave on schedule.

The Inguri hydroelectric station, the largest in Transcaucasia, is back on stream in full power. But across Abkhaziya, a total of ten enterprises are still idle.

According to the Soviet Interior Ministry's Press Centre, 1,113 kilograms of explosives and 1,578 firearms, including three machine-guns, 106 submachine guns, 139 rifles, 47 carbines and 19 handguns have either been turned in or confiscated since the start of the unrest.

The staffs of a formula feed plant and several collective and state farms, which are on strike in Ochamchiri district, adopted a statement criticising local leaders for having effectively contributed to provoking disorders.

The strikers demand that the entire district party bureau, all members of the Executive Committee of the local governing council, and senior local militia officials be dismissed.

A large group of people from Ochamchiri and nearby villages have announced a sit-in in the village of Ilori. Their slogan is: "Down With The Leaders Fomenting Ethnic Strife Between Blood Brothers—Abkhaziyans and Georgians."

Abkhaziyan party and government leaders often come to Ochamchiri District in order to defuse explosive tension and restore traditionally good relations between local Abkhaziyans and Georgians, which have been disrupted by the violence in Sukhumi.

A plan of action has been drawn up to reconcile the conflicting sides and stabilise the situation in the district.

Since the start of the unrest in Abkhaziya, criminal proceedings have been instituted in a total of 72 cases against people suspected of being involved in the disorders or in the spreading of slanderous rumours.

Law-enforcement bodies continue their work.

On the whole, the sitution in the republic is under control.

Dementey Elected New Belorussian President

LD0208153489 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Minsk August 2 TASS—Nikolay Dementey was elected president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia (a Soviet republic in western USSR). He replaced on this post Georgiy Tarazevich who was elected chairman of the Commission on the Nationality Policy and Ethnic Relations of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

After graduating from the agricultural secondary school, Dementey lectured at the Vitebsk agricultural school, worked as chief agronomist and director of the machine and tractor station in the Polotsk region. Concurrently, he studied at the correspondence department of the Belorussian Agricultural Academy. "I had enough energy then to accomplish a good deal. I discovered in those years that man gets tired not of work but of idleness", Dementey recalls.

The young and energetic manager was noticed and proposed to fill the post of an instructor at the Vitebvsk regional party committee. Later in Moscow Dementey graduated from the higher party school at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. He served as a party functionary in Belorussia. Before the new appointment he served as secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party.

Dementey, 58, is a people's deputy of the USSR. He has boundless energies and wish to devote his experience, knowledge and skill to the implementation of the programme of Belorussia's socio-economic advancement.

Commentary Criticizes Railway Minister's Comments

NC0208140889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1630 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Commentary by AZERINFORM]

[Text] Speaking on the USSR television network's Current Times program on 31 July 1989, USSR Minister of Railways Nikolay Konarev discussed the serious situation which has been created in the southern part of the Soviet Union as a result of the interruption in transport services between the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

[SSR] and the Azerbaijan SSR. Konarev justifiably noted that this state of affairs is having serious effects in particular on the restoration work being carried out in the Armenian SSR's tremor-hit rayon.

However, Konarev did not find it necessary to clearly point out where and by whom the tracks were [words indistinct]. Consequently, Konarev has given a wrong impression about the incidents to the millions of television viewers.

As reported by the republic's press and [words indistinct], all the incidents occurred in the Armenian SSR's Megri Rayon. Not only have the tracks been damaged by explosives and trains halted in that region, but mechanical workers have also been fired upon. Furthermore, even today the Armenians refrain from guaranteeing the movement of the trains and the security of the passengers and railway workers.

This is why the movement on that part of the railway track was halted.

Regrettably, Nikolay Konarev and the Current Times program failed to effectively outline all this. This (?state of affairs) serves the interests of the opponents of reconstruction. These forces (?wish) to make the region more tense and to provoke people to engage in unlawful activities.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Assesses Congress Results

18001335 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Jun 89 p 2

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Algirdas Brazauskas, by V. Mikhaylov: "To Serve the People, Not Abstract Principles"]

[Text] [Mikhaylov] At the end of the last Congress of Peoples' Deputies two evaluations of its activities were given. One of them was expressed by academician Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, the other was voiced by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The evaluations were clearly different, one might say even contradictory. In view of these two viewpoints I would like to hear your overall opinion about the congress as well as your feelings about the statements of Sakharov and Gorbachev.

[Brazauskas] A very difficult question. May I comment from my point of view on the progression of events during the congress to include an evaluation of the views of the secretary general?

[Mikhaylov] Fine. Let us narrow the question to your evaluation of the events at the congress and their results.

[Brazauskas] All were able to receive the straight broadcast of the work of the peoples' deputies at the congress. Having observed the events at closer range, I would like to add something.

The organizers of the congress had not foreseen the degree of activity of the delegates. Problems which in the past did not lead to questions being raised now led to numerous questions.

The draft resolution raised such a storm of proposals and amendments that consequently the congress could not pass it. It could not pass the basic resolution, which considers our basic internal and foreign policies, the actual state of things. I consider it to be a substantial failing of the first congress. It was a failing because a draft of such an important resolution must be discussed in advance, while this one was distributed among the deputies only the day before. Therefore people couldn't study it properly, couldn't give proposals to the drafting commission on time. Everything was expedited, but to take into consideration such a flood of information on an expedited basis, to distribute it and include it in a draft resolution is simply impossible.

About Sakharov. As he spoke at the congress for the eighth time, a portion of the delegates expressed their indignation. However, I personally regard giving Sakharov the floor as a democratic act on the part of the presiding officer. By majority vote of the deputies, the whole discussion had been closed. Therefore, an exception was made for Sakharov, which did not need to be made. It seems to me that the majority of the deputies would have voted against giving the floor to delegate Sakharov. But, in my opinion, the presiding officer acted correctly.

Unfortunately, I am far from having heard and understood all the statements of the academician, because some of the time the microphone was disconnected and the hall was noisy. To the extent I understood it, Sakharov went beyond the questions which were discussed at the congress. In part, he touched on foreign economic policy, relations with China, etc. However, the fact that he was allowed to speak his mind, proves again that a variety of opinions flowered at the congress.

[Mikhaylov] Aren't there faults and omissions by the last congress caused by the amendments to the Constitution against which Lithuania protested only last fall? What do you think?

[Brazauskas] I wouldn't say that one can find here a direct connection. You may remember that last fall discussion dealt essentially with the need to elect deputies from public organizations. What if one-third of the deputies were elected not from public organizations, but from the people by direct vote, then the quality of the corps of deputies would hardly change. Especially since the tone of discussion at the congress was set by the very same deputies who were elected by direct vote in the districts.

[Mikhaylov] But I had in mind that first of all the congress has too many delegates to work effectively and productively. Upon closer examination, it seemed to drown at times in the mass of problems raised by the deputies.

[Brazauskas] I agree with you. But one must not forget that this was the first congress.

In principle the congress made no basic decisions. That is not surprising. It will make them only if they are thoroughly prepared by the Supreme Soviet, well worked out by commissions, committees, chambers. Then the congress, as the highest legislative body, will be in a position to discuss them, accept them either as amendments to the Constitution, or as a new Constitution, or as another legislative proposal.

Here, essentially, everything came down to gaining knowledge, getting acquainted. Deputies learned at the congress, the Presidium as well. It wasn't just happenstance that several temporary commissions were formed to resolve one or another question. More precisely—to prepare inputs and conclusions for the use of the congress regarding these questions. These were necessary decisions—regarding the group of investigators, the events of 1939-40, the events in Tbilisi, and the law about economic reform in Lithuania and Estonia.

[Mikhaylov] Could you comment on the session of the Soviet of the Union which just took place?

[Brazauskas] It was very long and difficult. As you saw, they elected deputy chairmen of the soviet and chairmen of commissions. One of the Lithuanian deputies, Kazimera Prunskene, was proposed for deputy chairmanship, but she spoke in a manner as to practically refuse the post. (It would be more appropriate for her to comment on it herself).

Representatives of our republic served, in effect, on all commissions. This gives grounds for hope that the interests of Lithuania will be considered in all cases.

[Mikhaylov] An architect from Georgia, N. Mgaloblishvili, was recommended for the post of second deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union. Discussion became stormy and in the resulting vote the deputies rejected him. In my opinion, discussion on this candidacy was very indicative of the formation of power blocs among the deputies of this chamber.

[Brazauskas] Indeed, the positions of the deputies became clearer. As I see it, the candidate expressed himself rather sharply, even too categorically. However, as a person, as a man of wide erudition, he, in my opinion, was completely suited for this job and I voted for him. His speech, I stress, was too categorical, but it was frank, as it should be. Nevertheless, it turned a group of deputies against him. It's true he missed by a very narrow margin, literally by several votes. It's a pity he was not elected. We shall hope the next candidate will be no less deserving.

As for the chairmen of the commissions who were elected at the session of the Soviet of the Union, they, in my opinion, should be persons of broader views to understand problems of the entire country as well as their own oblast and adjoining oblasts so as to competently clarify a problem, generate ideas, seek methods of solution.

Naturally, we shall see what comes. I even wanted to propose that candidates be given a trial period to see how they work out before facing the question of their election.

It so turned out that 259 persons gathered who hardly knew each other. Surely it would be good to first get acquainted before resolving such important questions.

Nevertheless we shall hope that elected commission chairmen will justify our delegates' faith in them.

[Mikhaylov] The draft resolution of the congress states that all powers belong to the soviets. Do you think this statement is sufficient to actually transfer them into the hands of the soviets?

[Brazauskas] In this case the principle itself is stated and confirmed. It is stated in the preamble to the resolution that the Congress of People's Deputies is the supreme power in the land and that all power goes to the soviets. In my opinion, this does not call for comment, because it was widely discussed at the congress. Indeed the question of delimitation of functions between the party and the soviets arises immediately.

[Mikhaylov] At the congress, the first time that minority opinions were taken into account was after the Lithuanian delegation walked out of the meeting hall. In your view, what devices and procedures could protect minority views in our parliament in those cases where problems directly bearing on the interests of the minority are discussed?

[Brazauskas] That is the problem of problems, because a minority is a minority and a majority, a majority. It will always be thus.

However, there are questions of principle which affect not a separate group of like-minded deputies, but the interests of an entire republic. Such a case must always be recognized as being special. Obviously, such a device for somehow taking into consideration the views of a given republic on basic matters in due order is absolutely necessary. It is now time to think how to accomplish it.

The present rules of congressional procedure do not foresee this. There are various ways of protecting the views of the minority. The first is an individual republic's right to veto a matter of principle affecting it. As you may remember, we succeeded in entering such a resolution into the rules of the congress, whereby if two-thirds of the deputies of a republic support a legislative initiative on any question, the congress must take their views into consideration and extend the debate on that question. This is a very significant fact.

[Mikhaylov] At the end of the last session Mikhail Sergeyevich said that discussions at the congress prove convincingly that pluralism of opinion can be productive and constructive within the framework of socialism. This raises the question: How do you understand the term "pluralism"and what will be your future policies in Lithuania?

[Brazauskas] I find it difficult to answer this question. Is it right for me to answer it all by myself? Since in this case decisions pertaining to the party must be arrived at by consensus, for me, as first secretary, it would hardly be ethical to express my personal opinion.

I can say only one thing: One must keep in mind reality and not mistake the desirable for the actual. One must look at life as it is. If there are different opinions there are different movements. Thus it is necessary to consider these opinions. Naturally one must consider the opinions of each person. However, the fundamental power rests with the people or groups of individuals. The mood of the people and their wishes are, I would say, the major factors which always were and will remain operative. Behind the pluralism of opinion, however, stands the basic factor of majority opinion of the people, of the population. This cannot be ignored when making important decisions which affect the life of our entire republic. These include party decisions.

[Mikhaylov] That is, one must proceed not from an abstract principle but from real life?

[Brazauskas] Indeed from real life. You surely noticed that in his closing speech the general secretary said that the party serves the people. And the slogan "thoughts of the people are thoughts of the party" is now becoming reality as practiced by us.

[Mikhaylov] Thank you for the interview. A last question: Will you have time to fly to Vilnius to participate in the meeting at Vingis Park?

[Brazauskas] Yes, I'll have time. I definitely will come to the meeting at Vingis Prk.

Lithuanian Militia Official Views Crime Problem

LD0208132089 Vilnius KOMJAUNIMO TIESA in Lithuanian 20 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Alvydas Sadeckas, chief of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs' Criminal Investigation Section, by KOMJAUNIMO TIESA "special correspondents" Zurabas Dzhavashvilis and Valdas Valiukevicius entitled "Mafia"; date and place not given—first paragraph is KOMJAUNIMO TIESA introduction; interviewers are not identified individually]

[Text] Our journalists' opinions have never had the pretension of being the most objective or ultimate. Thus, in this instance, we think our readers will find the thoughts of specialists—criminal investigations workers—of interest. There is a Criminal Investigations' Section within the Republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs where workers, in addition to other work, also investigate organized crime. We are talking with Lieutenant Colonel, Alvydas Sadeckas, chief of the section.

[Question] The struggle with the present mafia (whatever it may be) is almost like a secondary duty for you, since we know the section's main task is to battle crimes against property, i.e. theft.

[Sadeckas] Unfortunately, that is correct. Several years ago we started a single-minded struggle against organized crime. The staff was not increased, but double duty has been heaped upon the worker's shoulders.

[Question] Perhaps it would be worthwhile to establish a separate section to do battle with organized crime or to fight the mafia. Those criminal investigation workers who have a lot of experience, should be assigned to this section.

[Sadeckas] I agree. That kind of department has been needed for some time. Having established something on that order, it would be easier to halt the spread of organized groups. As far as workers are concerned, believe me, we have enough genuine specialists who are decent and devoted to their work. We are currently in the process of setting up special units to combat organized crime. Plans call for their assumption of the criminal and economic areas of this phenomenon. I believe this course of action should become a priority in crime fighting.

[Question] Have you read our reports? What is your opinion?

[Sadeckas] This problem does exist and it has been accurately described. The phenomena, related to the activities of these groups, such as, for example, the pressuring of victims and witnesses, are real.

[Question] Perhaps, we could now address the question that greatly concerns our readers: "is there a Lithuanian mafia?" What will the specialists reply?

[Sadeckas] The words "mafia" and "organized crime" are already widely used, not in describing capitalist traits, but in referring to phenomena that are cropping up in our society. It is possible to discuss how this "imported" concept accurately reflects the actual criminal processes currently taking place in the republic. The mafia is a criminal organization, association, organized into a defined system of criminal groups that have permeated various strata of society, as well as the socioeconomic and political areas of life, through corruption and other means. Its goal consists of illegal trade and other criminal activity. I believe there are in no such criminal associations in Lithuania as yet. So far, only its rudiment elements can be observed.

[Question] Last fall, we printed some correspondence concerning the Alytus criminal investigations staff. It was headlined: "There Is No Mafia in Alytus." This categorical declaration of ours did not meet with the approval of certain residents of the said city. Thus, Artist V. Ledas, in registering his disagreement with our opinion, wrote a letter to the city and rayon paper "ALYTAUS ZINIOS" (strangely, not to KOMJAUNIMO TIESA). The letter asserts that there is a meat mafia and a tradesmen's mafia in Alytus; in short, that Alytus is almost another Naples. Perhaps we were nonobservant and did not notice mafia's footprints in this city? Perhaps these professional groups may also be referred to as mafia?

[Sadeckas] As a criminal investigator, I am not referring to economic crimes. Organized criminal groups are active there also. Would it be appropriate to call them the "mafia?"

We have received a Vilnius resident's letter, in which she referred to the executive committee workers as the "mafia" for not providing her with an apartment. Neither the bureaucratic practices, nor a small group of bribe recipients, nor the serious crimes committed by several recidivists and the machinations of some businessmen can be categorized in that light. In order to treat an illness, we must first make the correct diagnosis. If we lump everything together under organized crime phenomena and do not see the real enemy, clearly enough, it may be relegated to remain in the sidelines.

[Question] Perhaps it is not necessary to spend so much time thinking about what to name an unknown or a new phenomenon?

[Sadeckas] Their interpretations, and not the terms per se, are undoubtedly the most important. It is most significant that the current criminal world is attempting to reach a higher level of organized activity. Organized criminal groups are becoming more active in the republic and are having a great deal of impact on the crime situation. This process is becoming more threatening. Last year there were 2,000 more personal property thefts than in 1987. Apartment thefts increased by 500, and thefts of means of transport by 200. This year's criminal offences saw a twofold increase.

Such crimes are characteristic of organized crime groups and they contribute greatly to the earlier mentioned results. Such groups are noted for professionalism in criminal activity and certain talents for evading punitive responsibility. Racketeering is more widely and more brazenly active in cases involving cooperative workers. It can be foreseen that crimes in the republic will be increasingly dominated by organized crime. Perhaps it is not necessary to elucidate what impact this prospect will have on society. I make this statement because I am convinced that action by the internal organs, their structure, cadre training, and material and technical supplies, must be raised, without delay, to a new higher quality level. We still regard the union ministry with expectations and, instead of sewing a new garment, remove a patch from one spot and affix it to another. We have a shortage of interrogators, criminal investigators, and expert staff members; we will not be able to last long on internal resources alone. A great deal of time and painstaking and systematic work are needed to uncover crimes. A criminal investigation worker, however, gets to investigate ten actual crimes at once. That is how things happen most frequently—if you get to the end of the thread and pull it out quickly you can catch the criminal; if not, you drop one crime and grab another. You have to also follow this tempo while working with groups of criminals. It is a logical sequence that makes the percentage of solved crimes lag behind that of the ever-growing rise in criminal activity. Much can be said, by way of criticism, and rightfully so, in the face of abounding shortcomings among our various services, that is not, however, what determines the current situation. Only a major restructuring of internal affairs organs can save the situation. In truth, there should be no delaying or limiting oneself to only local decisions.

[Question] Perhaps the imperfection of the labor organization system and salaries encourage internal affairs system workers to join those on the other side of the fence—to become mafia informers?

[Sadeckas] There are some militia workers who fall in with the activities of the so-called mafia members and betray their own duties. There is no comprise in dealing with them—the cases known to us are always evaluated by us.

[Question] Let us recall the plight of those who were victimized. We have already mentioned the fact that when an organized group "has done its deed" there are no remaining victims. This makes your job more difficult and harms the public. In capitalist countries, the police or special services ensure complete protection for those witnesses who suffered at the hands of the mafia. What type of outcome do the criminal investigations workers see?

[Sadeckas] Over a period of several decades, our people developed a mistrust of the law. In spite of this, the law does offer protection to every witness and victim, however this is not enforced very decisively. Thus, people try to defend themselves. For instance, not long ago the chief of a certain cooperative hired a strong young man to work as a doorman, paying him R400 per month. (Here one might interject that the average criminal investigation worker's pay is less than R250.) This is how a cooperative that cares about order tries to protect itself by its own resources against racketeering. If this will not help, however, only one path remains—protection by law protection organs, and the use of criminal laws.

It seems to me that the cooperative administrator has only one choice—not to surrender. In other words, not to be afraid to put on the yoke, to become a slave of criminals Having paid the first payment, one will pay a second larger payment, and one will have to comply with all the whims of the unofficial masters. For instance, in March, Kaunas residents actively resisted racketeers, and the leaders of the groups mentioned in your reportage—the Vilijampole group, for example—were apprehended and charged. Once again, we make an offer to those cooperatives and individuals who engage in individual work activity to let us solve the question about your safety together, and do not allow racketeering to spread.

There is another matter that can not be put off—the Lithuanian Criminal Code articles that deal with the violation of private property must be improved without delay.

[Question] We think that militia workers alone, without assistance from other law enforcement organs, can not solve organized crime problems.

[Sadeckas] I believe that is the crux of the problem. The uniting and decisive cooperation of all law enforcemt organs is necessary. I think the procuracy and public courts have not yet solidified their position in this respect. The altered, but not replaced by anything else, interrogation and legal practice, a more standardized view of evidence, most often changing into obvious insurance, made it possible for criminals and organized groups to feel bolder. In spite of this, while starting a law-based state, we are basing our actions on the spirit of the times, rather than on laws. Earlier we strived for the least possible number of acquittals, but now we are doing just the opposite. Criminals' qualifications and development have reached a higher level, while our view of evidence, has remained old-fashioned. It seems to me at times that the procuracy and the courts are doubting the solidity of the charges, that the collegium of the jury (if there were such a thing!) would undoubtedly give its verdict of: "Guilty."

This is why I would not wish to agree with the slogan: "Where Is The Militia Looking!" Perhaps the question should be asked: Where are the law enforcement organs looking, since even the best militia efforts often face insurmountable barriers?

The struggle against organized crime has taken on a sociopolitical hue, and thus demands the attention of political and soviet organs. A strong public outcry and public intolerance toward criminal formations are also missing.

[KOMJAUNIMO TIESA note] While this series of reports was being prepared, many unpleasant events befell the "mafia." If we were to score this like a soccer game, the score would be 3 to 0 in favor of criminal investigations workers and the public. The Kaunas Procuracy and Internal Affairs Administration did some dilligent work during this period. A word of thanks to them on behalf of all honest people. People say that the city's residents are no longer surprised at the sight of heavily armed MVD youths. Three dangerous racketeers' groups have been arrested during the past month. Criminal charges have been brought against the Kaunas groups' leaders who had been mentioned in the reportage.

This is good; finally this city's cooperative staffs have joined forces against rackueteers. If they succeed in joining together, in a unified and forceful manner, a cooperative workers' victory is to be expected.

One more bit of news from Siauliai. V. Stanaitis, who had been mentioned in the reports, has been arrested; he is suspected of theft.

Latvia's Leaders Debate Range of Issues

18001383 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jul 89 p 10

[Discussion by leaders of various Latvian social forces: "Latvia: Together or Separate?"]

[Text] **Ethnic relations require discussion. Cast in solemn phrases, for many years they have been considered inessential and unquestionable. But the energy of silence has been overthrown by the energy of resistance. How can this be directed for good, for creativity? What must be done to solve the ethnic problems that are so crucial today? The editors suggest discussing these and other issues in a new column, "The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Chamber of Nationalities." As is proper with democratic debates, different, sometimes diametrically opposed viewpoints will be presented at meetings of the "chamber." These will include viewpoints with which the editorial staff categorically disagrees. But glasnost is glasnost. We want to give the reader "first-hand" information, avoiding accusations of prejudice and misinformation. We shall conduct the first meeting in Latvia. The process that will take place in the three Baltic republics is largely similar. Perhaps the fatal policy of the departments was more strongly felt in Latvia than in its neighbors, which also caused the sharpest political resistance. And so, the agenda: assessment of the political situation, interrelations between the republic and the center, and predictions for tomorrow. Leaders of various social forces are participating in the debates.**

FRONTS CALLING CARD of the People's Front of Latvia [NFL]: This mass sociopolitical organization has been in existence since November 1988 and has 250,000 members. Groups for supporting the NFL have been created in all cities and villages of Latvia. The Law on the State Language and the Law on Halting Migratory Growth of the Republic Population were adopted on the initiative of members of the movement. Of the 40 USSR people's deputies from Latvia 13 are members of the NFL Duma. It publishes a regular information bulletin, "Atmoda."

A. Tsirulis, editor of the newspaper PADOMYU YAUNATNE, board member of NFL Duma, USSR people's deputy

If one is to speak about the alignment of political forces in the republic, they are in competition and are diverging more and more, but if one is to look at the social situation as a whole, I think that it is normalizing. I am confident that it is impossible to have a random occurrence of the Sumgait situation in the civilian environment. It could happen only as a result of deliberate provocational actions. This does not mean that the situation is simple. There is stratification among the population. But it is not so much according to the ethnic indicator as according to the attitude toward perestroyka and the renewal of the society.

The Latvian People's Front united representatives of various political orientations for the sake of a common purpose: Latvian sovereignty and democratization of the society. Frequently today the utterance of such words as "sovereignty" and "independence" is immediately associated with a desire to secede from the USSR. I think there is a good deal of misunderstanding and pure suspicion here. After all, does our constitution not give us the right to sovereignty? It is a different matter that we do not understand it as it was understood in Stalinist-Brezhnevian times. We are in favor of the union and in favor of the federation, but of republics that have a real right to self-determination. Only the republics can grant the union various kinds of authority and not vice versa. For it was the republics that created the union.

Question from the floor: What is one to think about the recent appeal from the NFL Duma for consideration of the idea of Latvian sovereignty outside the framework of the USSR? Does it turn out that it is not without reason that opponents of the People's Front from the very beginning have accused it of concealment, of a desire to hide its real goals until the right time?

The real goals of the People's Front are indicated in its program. It was an appeal not for secession but for discussion of this idea. It was heard at a time when some of the board of the Duma were in the hall of the Congress. One can argue about the need for such an appeal but one cannot but understand the factors that generated it—a reaction to that same "aggressively obedient majority" which set the tone at the Congress. There was a lack of confidence that these people would want to change anything in the existing policy.

Reproaches are also hurled at us for the ethnic spirit of the movement. But under conditions when the indigenous ethnic group is being transformed into a minority on the territory where it has lived for ages, when it is no longer called a nation but a population group, when there is a threat that its language will disappear—is this not natural?

A word for reference: With a reduction of the natural growth of the population, there is an annual increase in the migratory growth: during the 1970's—8,000-9,000 per year, and in 1987—18,800. The average amount of dwelling space per one city dweller is less than it was before the war.

The ethnic spirit has restored the people's interest in social life and, the main thing, it is not hostile to other ethnic groups.

A word for reference: On the initiative of the NFL a forum of ethnic groups of Latvia was conducted in the republic. At it they created the Association of National Cultural Societies which includes Poles, Lithuanians, Jews, and others. They were granted the opportunity to open their own schools and develop their culture and handicrafts.

When we consolidate with other ethnic groups we must determine on what basis and in the name of what. Consolidation is unthinkable on the basis of restriction of democracy or on the basis of Stalinism and Brezhnevism. Unfortunately, in the organization that calls itself the International Front [IF] of Workers of Latvia I do not see any democratic aspirations. On the contrary, it shows a marked desire to retain the past by any means. One cannot but see the negative attitude of the IF toward Latvian sovereignty and the lack of respect for the Latvian language and national symbols. But at the same time I ask myself: Is it right for such an organization to exist today? And I answer: Yes, if one takes into account that five-sixths of its membership are management apparatus, including former military personnel. It would be disadvantageous for them to defend their views directly and therefore they take advantage of a public organization. But we do not place an equal sign between the IF and the Russian people, understanding that only a reactionary force and not a people can stand in the way of democracy.

The NFL is being joined by the Movement for National Independence of Latvia and its program is more radical. This is why discussion is necessary.

What are our immediate priorities? The elections to the Latvian parliament which represent the republic's citizens. The discussion of the draft of the "Concept of Economic Independence of Latvia." We are working on a package of laws (concerning citizenship and the new constitution). We have begun a battle against various forms of social injustice and privileges of power.

Question from the floor: How does the last point square with the high salaries of the Duma apparatus? And with certain of its claims to social privileges?

I do not think that equalizing will be of benefit to the society. The main thing is that the society be able to influence those who are enjoying the privileges. In other words: Elect them. If an official is not performing his duties and is not meeting the requirements of those who sent him there, perhaps they should remove not the benefits but the person.

The second NFL congress will take place in the fall. It should show whether the Duma board deserves its high salaries or not. **CALLING CARD of the International Front of Workers of the Latvian SSR [Interfront]: This**

sociopolitical organization was formed in January 1989. According to its leaders, it has more than 300,000 participants (there are neither membership lists nor registration). Interfront was the organizer of several meetings and demonstrations. It renders assistance to the city in the construction of purification installations. It publishes the weekly bulletin "Yedinstvo."

I. Lopatin, chairman of the republic Interfront council

Many communists are not satisfied by the state of affairs in the republic party organization. Thinking that the party should be the vanguard of the society, they cannot reconcile themselves to the idea that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia is a long way away from its intended purpose. These communists make up the nucleus of Interfront. We have been forced to distance ourselves from those who hold separatist and nationalist positions and declare ourselves to be a sociopolitical organization.

Another reason for the appearance of Interfront was the anti-Russian activity of the NFL which was pervaded with ethnic exclusivity. I have been living in Latvia for 2 years now and what I encountered disturbed and upset me. I was the first in the republic to organize an Interfront cell at my factory. Later, taking my military experience into account, I was promoted to the position of leader of the entire movement.

No matter how much you say about complete economic sovereignty and independence, in our day this is unrealistic. And why should we refuse the advantages for which our western neighbors are now striving so hard. I have in mind the Common Market of the EEC. The model of sovereignty proposed by the NFL is a step backward. It means transferring the power from the union ministries to the local ones. Would it not be better to think about a reform that changes the functions of the branch management organs?

We see our task as defending socialism and not allowing inherited interests to pull the country apart. All of our ethnic groups have the same problem. They have all suffered from repressive measures—is it really worthwhile to keep track of who has suffered more? Everyone also suffers from neglect of ecology. But we are trying to solve global problems on a small patch of land that is called Latvia and it is naive to think that we shall succeed. Take the state language—this is absurd! Is it really possible to force people to learn a language? I am convinced that this is not a desire for self-protection but ambition. Of course, if a Latvian is forced to speak Russian with another Latvian—this is nonsense. But if a Russian is forced to speak Latvian with another Russian—what is that?

A word for reference: According to calculations of specialists, the Law on Language forces 100,000 non-Latvians holding management positions or working in the sphere of service to know Latvian. The Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers plans to spend 50 million rubles on the language reform. According to our estimates this will cost the republic a half billion. Would it not be better to spend this money on housing and medical service? But for now let us imagine that everyone else in the republic wants the same thing. What will happen? This is a linguistic Chernobyl.

Question from the floor: During the discussion of the draft on the state language you gave the government an ultimatum which mentioned preventive strikes. We know that 30 enterprises participated in them. Do you consider such a measure a way of solving ethnic problems?

The ultimatum was actually caused by the government silence in response to our demands concerning two state languages. The people wanted to draw attention to themselves: Their opinion must not be ignored. The results showed that such a measure had a sobering effect. This also played a role in the fact that the Law on Language came out in a fairly weak variant. In general we are against extremes. We are in favor of consolidation. But not to the detriment of our principles. Why should I waive my civil rights? The non-Latvian part of the population would be greatly harmed by that. Take television. Almost all republic programming is in the Latvian language. Yes, there are also two Union programs, but I wish to hear republic news and I cannot. Where are the equal rights. After all, we all pay the same taxes.

ALLIES

CALLING CARD of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia [DNNL]: It has been in existence since June 1988. It has 11,000 members. It was the first in the republic to apply such forms of political struggle as picketing, rallies, and demonstrations, and it was the first to introduce national symbolism. A USSR people's deputy became a member of the DNNL.

I. Geydans, DNNL board member, laboratory chief of the Latvagropromstroy Association

Today's situation can be compared with World War I when the national liberation movement developed on the outskirts of the Russian empire. Our state has a different name but the system of political relations in it is the same: Nothing is decided in the local areas; everything is dictated from the center with a single goal—to strengthen its interests. There is now a marked desire to improve the existing situation without changing its essence. We know the results of such changes. If before World War II Latvia surpassed many of the Scandinavian countries in terms of many economic and cultural indicators, where is it now? And where are Denmark and Finland?

We have come to the conclusion that it is possible to guarantee even what we once had only as a result of immediate separation and acquisition of independence.

Today the West is seeking contacts with the East. The Baltic countries could form a free neutral buffer zone: Located on our territory would be plants constructed with money and using technologies of the West but in keeping with the agreement some of the products would go to the West and some to the East.

Question from the floor: Is there an economic account of this buffer model?

Not yet. But, after all, Japan and the FRG were able to make such a leap after World War II. What is standing in our way? The more so since the advantage is for both the East and the West. I wish to emphasize that this changeover is possible only through parliamentary channels, through a congress of Latvian citizens.

Question from the floor: We know that DNNL support groups create so-called committees for citizenship which compile lists of Latvian citizens. How do they distinguish pure from nonpure Latvians? Who has given them this right?

DNNL initiative groups are conducting a census—we want to know what awaits us in the event of a referendum. We do not believe the official census: The information gathered in the republic was not generalized, everything was submitted to the center, and from there we were given prepared figures. The main goal of our work is to create an institution of citizenship. This is a necessary protection of the rights of the region. We consider it unfair for all residents of the republic to participate in the destiny of the region. Since the indigenous ethnic group is in the minority, where is the guarantee that the incoming majority will not vote to eliminate us altogether?

Citizenship does not diminish the social rights of other groups of residents. The restrictions pertain only to participation in the adoption of laws. Is it not natural that a person should live in a place for a certain amount of time before he has the right to decide its destiny? These restrictions exist throughout the world. Only the time varies from 5 to 20 years. We have decided on the average figure—10 years. After this period has expired a resident of Latvia submits a written statement that he accepts the laws of the republic and its culture and that he can speak in the local language. A special committee decides whether a person is worthy of citizenship or not. Of course everyone who has lived here since before 1940 and their offspring are considered to be Latvian citizens. That is, we are speaking not about ethnic but about territorial issues.

A word for reference: The Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet has declared the committee's decisions to be invalid.

CALLING CARD of the Union of Veterans of War, Labor, and the USSR Armed Forces: In April 1989 it separated from the republic Veterans Union and established an independent organization. It is a collective member of Interfront.

R. Dudnik, member of the union's organizing committee, deputy director of electric light bulb plant

The situation in Latvia is getting worse each day. The republic has ended up split along ethnic lines. When analyzing the situation one asks the question: How could it happen that in a unified union republic where the Russian population are in the majority they are discriminated against? And it is outright and gross discrimination by a group that comprises only 1 percent of the country's population? This is a paradox never known before in the history of mankind!

This was begun by last year's plenum of creative unions when the creative intelligentsia openly opposed the interests of the Latvian people to the interests of the rest of the population. This was the first that had been heard of the idea of priority development of the indigenous ethnic group. A new round in the deterioration of relations was introduced by the founding meeting of the NFL, where nationalist, profascist views were expressed directly. The Russian part of the population was in shock.

Interfront arose in order to pacify these people, as an alternative to the NFL.

Question from the floor: Does it not seem to you that the roots of the conflict go back to the prewar years, to the illegal repatriations of the forties?

But what happened before the war? An agreement was concluded with Latvia; the Soviet troops came here with the president's agreement. As concerns the repatriations of 1941-1949, they were done on the initiative of the local authorities. Why blame everything on the Soviet Union and Stalin? I am a lawyer, I worked in the military prosecutor's office, and I am used to the precise language of facts. There is not a single document or witness to show that Stalin gave the command to have the people moved from Latvia. Yes, he dismissed the organs and created the theory of aggravation of the class struggle—well, he was wrong as a theoretician. But the local lackeys picked up on the idea, and they should bear responsibility.

The People's Front thinks the Latvian people have suffered and say that the nation is decreasing in size and the language is being impoverished. But is the same thing not happening with the Russian people? Or with any other? There is a natural process of assimilation throughout the world.

I am convinced that the NFL is exaggerating the situation. The simple people do not need all of this. And take a look at who is included in the NFL. This is not a popular movement! It was originated by a group of intellectuals, and not at a rural congress or in a labor collective. Or take the composition of the Duma. Who are the people there? The people are those who represent the nation in percentages—workers and peasants. I would disband such organizations.

NONALIGNED

CALLING CARD of the Union of Workers: It is in the stage of formation. It engages in agitation and educational work.

G. Rozhanskiy, member of the initiative group of the SR [Union of Workers], communications fitter of the Medik repair and construction administration

Our organization has not yet been formed structurally, but we do not want to be included in any of the fronts. Their programs do not have any real content with respect to workers. Some defend the interests of the intelligentsia, while others defend more the military or former military bureaucracy.

But who will solve problems of production democracy? Who will defend the rights of the workers? Unfortunately, the majority of the working class is passive and live according to the principle: You pretend to pay us and we shall pretend that we are working. They have become accustomed to placing their hopes in others. And this is still the case—first in Gorbachev and then in the fronts. But they should place their hopes only in themselves.

A word for reference: There was not a single worker in the elections for USSR people's deputies from Latvia for the territorial and national-territorial okrugs.

We envisage the Union of Workers as the organization which will introduce the workers into the real economy and make them co-owners of the means of production and participants in the distribution of profit. How will we achieve this? First of all by increasing the independence of the enterprises. We must turn the existing structure upside down: the STK [technical control sector], the trade unions, the collective agreement. They must be made to work not for the administration but for the collective. What can the STK headed by the director do today? Whatever it is permitted to do. The administration must become a partner of the labor collective and the council—the most representative management organ.

We need our own, worker trade unions which will oppose the existing structures and prepare alternative variants of laws. We have already created a legal protection committee which defends the rights of workers in courts. LG [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] has written about a similar experience in Poland where members of the ruling worker party place their problems before the Sejm.

The bureaucracy is holding on to the fact that it is monolithic. A split among workers today would be our weakness and its strength. Yes, we have ethnic problems, and deep ones. It is a fact that Latvians are on the verge of extinction. But one ethnic group cannot solve the problem of democratization; it needs support from all the rest. In Karabakh each of the ethnic groups tried to win democracy for itself—and what happened? This is why we think that the Union of Workers should become a uniting force.

CALLING CARD of the Agricultural Union of Latvia [SSL]: It was formed in April 1989. About 150,000 rural residents have become members of the movement. Ten commissions of the union have begun to work.

V. Plume, SSL board member, sovkhoz-tekhnikum director

Our major goal is to protect the peasant. Our regulations give us the right to our own legislation and to self-management from below to above, from the farm to the republic.

We are not a political organization, but that does not mean that we have no position. The NFL program is closest to our union; it is calculated for serious democratic transformations. Interfront, in my opinion, arose out of a lack of understanding both of today's situation and of history. After all, the sovereignty of the Latvian state was violated, and hence the problems.... But many people who come here do not know this. Any mention of sovereignty seems to them that it is directed toward them personally. Our ancestors have lived here for centuries and have never crowded anybody out. Incidentally, it is also possible to reproach the People's Front—it did not begin its propaganda work on time. Many crucial problems could have been eliminated at once.

The political situation is also aggravated by the economy, or, rather, the bureaucrats from the economy who simply make fools of both the working class and the peasantry. Our kolkhozes are sitting around without nails today while the "Sarkanays metalurgs" plant ships all of its products abroad. Not a single farm in Latvia has gotten rich from its basic agricultural products, and a large share of the peasants' income comes from subsidiary production. And this against the background of the prewar agrarian successes when we held one of the leading places in the world with respect to milk and meat. This is how the political situation is being created as well.

We understand that decentralization of the USSR is a step backward and that the countries of the European market are moving in the other direction. But for us republic economic accountability and sovereignty are a necessary measure to finally put our house in order. In order to unify it is necessary to have a certain standard of well-being and culture. Who needs a unified group of beggars? The federation should be not a noose around our necks but an incentive for development.

Much will depend on the attitude in the center toward the documents drawn up in the republic—the concept of economic development and the draft of the new LaSSR Constitution. If they are accepted there will be stabilization.

I think the NFL as a democratic movement should work in two directions: political and ethnic Latvian interests. The problems of the Latvian republic are broader than those of the Latvian people. The main priority is perestroyka and democratization, and it should provide for all the rest.

The Communist Party of Latvia

CALLING CARD: It has been in existence since March 1919. It has 185,000 members and nine-tenths of the USSR people's deputies from Latvia are CPSU members.

I. Kezbers, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, USSR People's Deputy

In my opinion, the elections clearly demonstrate the alignment of political forces in the country. In a situation where for the first time we have not voted but elected, one can say that the party has retained its authority. And we must not forget that it was the party that took the deliberate step of awakening the sleeping society. As a result, various public organizations appeared with different convictions and influence.

The Latvian People's Front turned out to be more serious than the rest. Groups have appeared which operate from extreme positions, for example the DNNL. It is fairly naive to see the meaning of the changes in a return to the past and to think that the majority of problems can be solved by a restoration of the 1922 Constitution of the Latvian Republic and a declaration that the pact of 1939 is invalid. Of course it is very tempting to promise the people a beautiful, idyllically abundant, independent Latvia, but still it must be constructed. But how? Out of what? I am sure that it is impossible to build a future out of the past and a nostalgia for it. I would not include this organization among the forces for perestroyka.

I do not like a number of the acts of the leaders of Interfront, especially when they frighten the population with false stories of persecution by "nationalists" or separatists or when they instigate political strikes. The Central Committee and the Riga Gorkom [city party committee] have official disapproved of actions like this. But since we are in favor of pluralism, apparently we must get used to such a climate. In general the existence of alternative organizations is all for the good. They break down the established stereotypes and force man to make a choice. This means that it is possible for him to develop his own position.

Question from the floor: The Communist Party of Latvia today includes members of the NFL and members of Interfront and members of the DNNL.... Can such a situation be considered normal?

This is reality, and it is probably natural that we have come to this point. But the problem becomes more crucial with each day. I think that in the near future we shall have to significantly update and revise the concept of socialism. It is time to develop clear ideas and openly state what our political system will be about, say, at the beginning of the 21st century. Single-party or multiple party? Will we have private property or will we continue as we have before to play with words, first calling it personal property, then peasant property, then the property of corporate bodies? We need a strategy: Which path shall we take? Real life suggests that we already have the beginnings of other parties. They are still small groups of dilettantes and their leaders seem to be not so much politicians and political intriguers, but they exist and they are trying to be the first to take the winds of change into their sails. And in our lack of decisiveness will we again end up without any wind?

We must reinforce the republics' equal rights constitutionally, in more than just words. Yes, Latvia is small, and in terms of many indicators it provides 1 percent of the Union funds. But for us this is still 100 percent of our only home, and we want to keep track of it. My formula is: strong republics—a strong union. I think the socialist federation is far from exhausting itself. But Lenin's idea must be filled with qualitatively new content. We need a new agreement among the republics that is based on normal economic relations. We have nowhere to turn because we have grown together with the economic organism of the entire Soviet Union and we have become so backward that we cannot be equal partners in the European community. If we fail to understand this and build illusions regarding complete independence and some deluxe room that someone has reserved for us in the "European home," we shall simply be deceiving ourselves and others.

But an important question arises: How do we legally protect ourselves from unionwide departments? Many are in favor of giving the republics the right to veto. I would not insist on a veto but sometimes a law is strong even when it is never applied; its mere existence can prevent undesirable processes.

As concerns predictions. First of all we must raise our cultural level: Both political and general. For it is only as a result of its absence that passions could flare up around the language issue. I recall Goethe who said that with the mastery of each new language a new person is born in him. It seems strange to me that this issue is being placed on the political plane. I can speak four languages myself, and I am teaching them to my children—and this is a normal phenomenon. The more so in a republic where so many nationalities have joined destinies.

I think the healthy forces of the society will recover from extremism. We are all learning parliamentarianism today. There is also much for the party to do: state problems more boldly, learn to argue more convincingly, openly recognize mistakes and correct them on the way, and learn to deal with reality and not dogma. While previously it was easy for us to say that the people and the party are one, now we must think hard about this: What have we done to make the people support us?

Life has become more complicated and unpredictable, but one thing is clear: There is no way back, and this understanding has made it easier to breathe.

HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT

The truth is born, as they say, in argument. But we are still a long way from the truth. For now the participants in the "LG Chamber of Nationalities" have formulated, it seems to us, three major problems which require detailed reflection:

1. What should be the nature of the relations between the republics and the center?
2. How natural is it in the process of democratization to have a divergence of views and political positions and in which direction is it best to move here?
3. Problems of the nonindigenous population of the republic have become worse. How can they be resolved?

We are expecting from you, the readers, "resolutions" to these problems.

Latvian Trade Union Leader Interviewed

18280153 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Jul 89 p 1

[Interview with A.A. Silin, recently elected chairman of the Latvian Republic Trade Union Council, by V. Konstantinov: "Not for the Sake of Figures"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Konstantinov] Andris Andreyevich, first of all I congratulate you on your victory in the election as trade union chairman. I think the word "victory" is quite appropriate in this case...

[Silin] Indeed, in "pre-restructuring" times the election of a leader of a trade union organ was largely a formality and was essentially like an appointment. But now a total of 11 candidates were running for the chairman position.

[Konstantinov] Who nominated them, according to what principle?

[Silin] People in many local trade union organizations and trade union committees knew abut the fact that the chairman—now former—of the republic council was going on a pension. And already in February, 2 months before he left, the organizational and instructional department of the trade union, of which I was in charge at the time, began to receive proposals "from below" concerning possible candidates for the chairman position.

[Konstantinov] Spontaneously?...

[Silin] There really were no instructions "from above." In your definition, true, there is a touch of something negative, unorganized. And yet the trade union organizations simply realized their legitimate right to discuss and make suggestions regarding any issues in trade union life. It is another matter that this activity is somewhat unusual. It is clear that the overall process of democratization in the country and the changes in the trade unions themselves helped awaken the people's initiative.

[Konstantinov] Have party organs, particularly the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, made recommendations regarding conducting elections and the candidates?

[Silin] No. Although party workers were among the candidates suggested by the local party organizations, including from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia. Activists from the People's Front agitated for the secretary of the Riga party gorkom [city committee]. Among those running were also workers, the chairman of the trade union raykom [rayon committee], and the chairman of the republic trade union council. All these candidacies were discussed by the republic trade union and at conferences of trade union representatives.

[Konstantinov] Andris Andreyevich, how did you end up among the "contenders"?

[Silin] I was nominated by the trade union committee of the Riga Polytechnical Institute, the agricultural academy, and a number of others. Apparently the fact that in the recent past I had worked in the republic committee for public education and was familiar with the collectives of many VUZ's [higher educational institutions] also had an effect. And during more than 5 years of work in the republic trade union council I tried to delve into the lives of other Latvian labor collectives. I am no stranger to the plant work environment either—I was a metal worker for 8 years.

[Konstantinov] The results of the recent plenum of the Latvian republic trade union council are known: As a result of secret voting you were elected chairman of the trade union council... But this is not simply a move from the office of the plant organizer to another, more spacious one. The scale of the work and responsibility are also different...

[Silin] Of course, especially now that we have entered what I consider to be a very important, watershed stage in the restructuring of all trade union work.

[Konstantinov] Do you have in mind the draft of the law on the rights of trade unions? Perhaps you would express your remarks and proposals concerning the draft right now?

[Silin] It seems to me that the future law should not only reinforce the old rights of the trade unions and add new ones. The task is more complicated: To develop a law that would help the trade unions themselves to change, to assume a more appropriate position in the society. Previously, you will recall, trade unions were frequently regarded as organizations that were intended primarily to educate the working masses, to explain to them the decisions and instructions adopted in the "upper levels," to mobilize them to fulfill them, and to distribute the not very generous social benefits. Restructuring has given the trade unions the opportunity to begin a return to their major, true role as protector of the interests of the workers, their legitimate representative. And this means the right not only to agree with the decisions of the government and party and economic organs, but, if necessary, to oppose them and demand changes that bring them closer to the real needs of the people. The trade unions must constantly keep management organs "on the ground," and remind them that the goal of production is not impressive statistics, but a worthwhile life for each person. Speaking concretely about the draft law, we have created under the trade union council a special group of scholars, jurists, and experienced trade union workers to analyze it in detail and make suggestions. I wish to make this suggestion on my own behalf. In my view, we must state clearly in the law that all trade union members without exception have the right to defend and aid the trade union organ. And in particular, we must abolish the provision according to which it is possible to fire leaders whose positions are included on certain lists without the agreement of the trade union committee. I think it would also be correct to reflect in the future law not only the rights of the trade union as a whole but also, say, the rights of the local and republic organizations with respect to the central trade union organs.

[Konstantinov] In your view, what specifically must be changed here?

[Silin] For example, it is necessary to expand the independence of the trade union committees and councils in determining their optimal structure. I do not think we can cut everything from the same pattern here. And the solutions to such problems as the expenditure of trade union funds should, in my opinion, be increasingly "sent down" to the local organizations.

[Konstantinov] Here a great deal probably depends not only on the central trade union organs, but also on the republic council.

[Silin] Of course. Our local organizations and committees are now actively discussing the new concept of the basic directions of the republic trade union activity prepared by the trade union council. We are thinking about bringing it up at the next trade union plenum. For example, we shall have to delimit more clearly the functions of the council and the republic committees of the branch trade unions and grant them greater independence. And the council must concentrate its attention on solving interbranch problems and carrying out social programs that are common to all workers of the republic. In particular, we are thinking about devoting more attention to ethnic issues and the consolidation of all labor collectives of the republic.

[Konstantinov] Since we have touched on this issue... Andris Andreyevich, I know that in the republic trade union there is a group who support the People's Front of Latvia. What is its role?

[Silin] Indeed such a group does exist; it is headed by the deputy chief of the department for mass cultural work. I would say that this is a group of active people with initiative who are constantly making suggestions concerning the acceleration of the resolution of social problems and democratization of trade union life. With the help of the group, the trade union council maintains a dialogue with the People's Front, Interfront, and unions of labor collectives that have appeared recently. I think that such a dialogue is simply necessary, for all these organizations have the support of a considerable share of the workers. Moreover, we are firmly in support of the unification of all healthy forces and labor collectives in the name of strengthening and further development of restructuring. It is in it, in the dynamic renewal of all aspects of our life, that we find the major interest of the working man.

Armenian Deputy Criticizes Moscow Over NKAO

NC1007100289 Yerevan KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN in Armenian 16 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by Sero Khanzadyan, writer and USSR people's deputy, under the rubric "Deputy's Podium": "In the Name of Our Unity and Realization of Our National Demands"]

[Excerpts] For weeks on end we sat in the splendidly appointed palaces of the Kremlin and heard talk imbued with the spirit of restructuring. Meanwhile, the crisis continued in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] as did the wave of strikes set in motion since the beginning of May.

Let me tell you, my friends, that it is totally incorrect to regard this struggle as a mere strike action. [passage omitted] It is a struggle for the liberation of the fatherland and for the survival of its children. For the last 68 years, we have struggled with different means and with the hope of obtaining justice, which we have yet to receive. This means that we must continue the struggle in this direction as well. The Karabakh movement is not only a "strike action," rather it is a just political struggle. [passage omitted]

What are the demands of the Armenian oblast? They are well known and so there is no need for me to repeat them. The central issue is its liberation from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's suzerainty. For the last 68 years, the past and present leadership of that republic has barbarically ruined Artsakh [NKAO], the most ancient homeland of the Armenians. They are continuing to ruin it even during the congress. Yet the Soviet central government is not resolving that elementary and just humane and national demand.

Let me confess: I, like many others, considered the special administration committee set up at the beginning of this year as a way out, even if temporary, and a half-baked measure for karabakh's salvation.

Alas! I was duped; we were all duped. It exists only in name. The committee started its work in the oblast by only introducing so-called socioeconomic improvements; it has no intention of contributing to the realization of the just national demand. There is only one way to help the NKAO and that is a political solution entailing the oblast's reunification with Armenia. There is no alternative. This was the demand of the Armenian as well as NKAO deputies at the congress of USSR people's deputies. [passage omitted]

In 1921, half of western Armenia, Artsakh, and Nakhichevan were unlawfully handed over to nomadic Turks who had appeared to the east of Armenia around 200 years ago. These Turkish-Azerbaijanis expelled the indigenous Armenians from the provinces "donated" to them. Only the courageous NKAO remained. Now, the Azerbaijani leaders are attempting to rid that oblast as well of its Armenian population.

The aggression in the name of sham internationalism of the official press and mass media is continuing against the NKAO and the entire Armenian people. Some have not properly understood my statement on television. I said that since the October Revolution, Armenian delegations, from Shant's mission in 1920 to the delegation at the 18 July 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session among others, have returned from Moscow defeated. I said that our deputies group too will return unsatisfied from this congress. However, do not despair my people; one day the Armenians will return victorious. What I wanted to say was this: Struggle, continue to struggle until justice triumphs. If there was a hint of despair in what said, then forgive me.

Unfortunately, some press organs are pursuing their shameless hypocrisy with the aim of demeaning our just movement before the eyes of the world and representing it as an extremist nationalist movement. These accusations were levelled at us by some deputies in the congress. Such people are receiving a well-deserved counterattack, but not from the government ranks.

There never has been and there is no restructuring for the unfortunate Armenian cause, nor did I see any signs of this at the congress. Yes, I saw no indications that our leading government bodies seek to introduce restructuring in interethnic relations, although there is endless talk about it. I saw no signs of restructuring in the Armenian question in particular. While there, we also heard that new interethnic problems are flaring up in different regions of the country and that blood was being shed. Who is instigating these acts and for what purpose? A clear reply has not being given to these questions.

Toward the end of the congress, it was declared that a special parliamentary commission will be set up to deal with the NKAO problem. However, I cannot assure you that it will materialize. I doubt if this promise will materialize or if Lenin's principle of national self-determination will be implemented ultimately. I hope I am mistaken. [passage omitted]

Let those, near and far, who wish Armenians ill not entertain the idea that the Armenian Karabakh will be subjugated and that it can be reduced to the fate of Nakhichevan, which is already depopulated of Armenians. Such a thing will not happen. We are living in somewhat different times. [passage omitted]

Yerevan City Soviet Calls for Troop Pullout

NC0208145189 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] The 6th session of the 20th congress of the people's deputies of the Yerevan City Soviet has passed a decision concerning the curfew hours and special situation enforced in Yerevan, after examining a proposal from a group of public representatives and some deputies. The decision states: The Yerevan City Soviet informs the population that the special situation and the curfew imposed on Yerevan have no legal grounds at all and it considers these [anbaver] from the very start of the operation. A commission of deputies and representatives of the public has been set up to expose and to call to account those who illegally impose the special situation and curfew and those who are responsible for illegal operations under these conditions. The commission will have to work openly and in cooperation with the people in order to uncover the illegal activities. The city soviet demands that the USSR Interior Ministry and the Defence Ministry pull out, without delay, all the supplementary army units brought to the capital after February 1988. The city soviet is able to maintain the proper law and order in the city on its own and by relying on the public.

The city soviet executive committee, acting on the proposal of the deputies and representatives of the public, has decided to raise the question of lifting the special situation and curfew in Yerevan before the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Sports Committee Chairman Appointed in Armenia

NC3007110789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 29 Jul 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] According to the paper, Ruben Yakobovich Agopyan has been appointed chairman of Soviet Armenia's State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport by a decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

National Ukrainian Perestroyka Movement Formed

18001426 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 2

[Report by K. Grigoryev: "Rukh—People's Movement for Perestroyka"]

[Text] **An organizing committee has been created to prepare for the republic congress.**

The Kiev regional founding conference of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka was held at the end of June on the premises of the House of Film.

In Ukrainian the movement is called "Rukh" and one must say that the very process of forming a new organization is also constantly in a state of motion. From its inception at the end of last year until the present conference it has traveled a difficult path of struggle and search for mutual understanding, a path on which—as was admitted by a speaker at the conference, the chief of the ideological division of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, L. Kravchuk, mistakes have been made by both sides. Even today, perhaps, we do not have complete mutual understanding regarding Rukh, but nonetheless it exists. More than 30 people representing the most diverse segments of the population have come out in support of it: workers and scientists, engineers and students, USSR people's deputies, the first secretary of a party raykom... Many speeches emphasized that the fear that Rukh might be contributing to the stratification of the population according to the national indicator and force the study of the Ukrainian language is completely unfounded.

The regional conference was opened by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. Popovich and two papers were give: by the poet I. Drach on the subject "Rukh Today" and by the literary scholar, Doctor of Philological Sciences V. Donchik—on the results of the discussion of the Rukh program. Among the discussants were the writers D. Pavlychko, P. Osadchuk, V. Manyak, and V. Yavorivskiy.

The conference elected a coordinating council of the Kiev regional organization of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka. At the conference, in which representatives of the oblasts participated, they created an organizing committee for preparing for the republic People's Movement of the Ukraine conference which is to be held this fall.

At the first meeting of the coordination council V. Yavorivskiy, a USSR people's deputy, secretary of the board of the Writers Union of the Ukraine, was elected chairman of the Kiev regional organization of the People's Movement of the Ukraine.

Farms, Cooperatives To Form Association

LD0108042989 Moscow TASS in English 2239 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—A constituent conference of representatives of peasant farms and rural cooperatives of the Russian Federation has been held here. It was attended by representatives of peasant farms from union republics.

The purpose of the conference was to prepare for a congress at which an association of peasant farms and rural cooperatives of the Russian Federation will be formed to function on the principles of full cost accounting and independence.

The sponsoring group of the association includes in particular representatives of the institute of sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the research institute of the economics of agriculture, the newspaper IZVESTIYA, the leaders of a number of agricultural cooperatives of the Russian Federation.

The aim of the future association is to uphold equal rights in the development of all modes of agricultural economics.

The conference adopted a resolution determining the main principles of approach to the development of the country's agriculture: the emancipation of peasant farms through legal and economic independence and equitable relationships among all partners.

The conference was attended by 222 representatives from 39 regions of the Russian Federation. A constituent congress of representatives of peasant farms and rural cooperatives of the republic is to be held at the end of this year.

Army Critics Blamed for Fergana Events

PM1307151689 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Colonel P. Studenikin: "Scorched by Fergana: Escaping From the Pogroms, Thousands of Meskhetian Turks Were Forced To Flee Their Homes. Russia Took Them Under Its Maternal Wing"]

[Text] Fergana and Moscow—"Esteemed editorial office! What circumstances explain the evacuation of all the Turks from Uzbekistan, specifically to Smolensk, Novgorod, Moscow, and other Russian oblasts? Why not to other republics? Why are the victims being sent away, while those to blame for the tragedy stay at home? I think there was some lack of thought or excessive haste here...

"No, it is not all that simple: 5 or 10 hooligans gather and start setting fire to Turks' houses. No, that is not the point. There is more nationalism than hooliganism here, and it developed over a long period.

"Why was the government of Uzbekistan unable to resolve this question, after all, to judge by press reports, the situation there is returning to normal, and if that is so, why evacuate the Turks? The situation is returning to normal, but the evacuation goes on. Strange, isn't it?..."

The editorial office received this letter from Vasiliy Ivanovich Voronov, labor veteran and participant in the Great Patriotic War, from Kaliningrad in Moscow Oblast. But there are thousands of similar letters—people send them to the editorial offices of newspapers and journals, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other bodies... The Fergana tragedy cut like a knife through all our hearts, and caused us to shudder and to reconsider, to take a new look at the phenomena that have occurred in our lives recently.

The authors of many letters are even more challenging.

"How could this be possible in our country? Is the state capable of protecting its citizens against mass pogroms? Who will answer for all this?" (T. Khabarova, Lvov)...

Many authors demand: "The refugees must be returned to their lawful places of residence, their homes must be restored at the expense of the culprits, and they must be given reliable protection and inviolability!"

As I reread these letters, pictures flash before my eyes—Kokand on fire, as we saw it from a helicopter on the evening of 7 June; the burned housing districts of Komsomolskiy settlement; the aftermath of cruel pogroms in Margilan...

Even now I have not fully recovered from the shock of those first days in the cities and settlements of Fergana Oblast, when the madness of 20th-century vandals swept through them with pogroms and fires. My blood still runs cold at the evidence of violence and cruelty. I leaf through the photographs—dire testimonies to an orgy of hatred and sadism: a burned corpse—it is impossible to tell whether it is a man or a woman—a man and an adolescent (evidently father and son), and nearby the club with which they were killed. A woman's body cast into the gutter, mutilated beyond recognition...

We journalists were shown a film shot during those days in Komsomolskiy, Margilan, and Tashlak—the places where the events were most frenzied in nature. The camera dispassionately records how crowds of young men gathered with impunity, meeting no opposition, to carry out pogroms, and how the houses burned. It records looters plundering the ruined houses, and... charred human bodies—many of them were within view of the movie camera.

"They stopped at nothing," Sergeant Gayrat Khasanov told us later in Margilan. "They burned houses, stole, jeered at people. These scum—there is no other word—surrounded Turkish homes, carried out everything of value, and then threw burning torches in the windows. They would not allow the inhabitants to cross the threshold, they waited for them to be burned alive. Cries, prayers for help, pleas and appeals to humanity only inflamed the murderers. An Uzbek militiaman who shielded the escape of a young Turkish girl fell beneath their ax. Virtually all my comrades received burns and wounds..."

The day after our meeting with the sergeant, early in the morning, in the settlement of Gorskiy, we saw for ourselves very recent traces of a pogrom: During the night, a Meskhetian Turk was set on fire in the street right outside his home. Yunus Osmanov, an old man of 80. In the house, everything was put to the ax—furniture, clothes, cooking equipment, books, even the family photograph album.

Osmanov's neighbor, A. Abdulayev, an amputee with a Patriotic War order on his aging jacket, told us:

"They came by night. They sent the neighbors back to their homes, threatening: If you show your faces, the same thing will happen to you. They smashed up the house. The old man shouted out—he called for help. Then the bonfire blazed up—they burned Yunus, probably alive..."

Why am I writing about this now, when the situation in Fergana is gradually returning to normal? I have no desire to kindle anger and hatred in people's hearts or to rub salt into a fresh wound. I have seen enough human grief to last me a lifetime—in Tashkent, when it was destroyed by the earthquake; in Afghanistan, where our boys died at the roadside, blown up by mines; and only recently in Leninakan, where hundreds of people died from a blow struck by the elements... It was painful, very painful. But here in Fergana there is a special kind of pain. There you knew that there was a war on, albeit undeclared; you realized that even now, man is sometimes defenseless against nature. But here? Brother raised an ax against brother. People who had lived their lives as neighbors and shared their joys and sorrows were suddenly enemies. How could it happen?

It must be admitted, though it is painful and distressing: The extremist forces—all those who created this mess—achieved their aims. The Meskhetian Turks, deprived of their homes and property, and many of them having lost their nearest and dearest, were forced to leave Uzbekistan.

I think that in this emergency the decision to evacuate them was the only correct and sensible one. Humanitarian and humane, at least.

After all, the fire kindled in Kuvasay and Tashlak was beginning to flare up in, one after the other, Fergana, Margilan, Kokand... In another 2 or 3 days, it could have crossed into neighboring oblasts—Andizhan and Namangan, and even Tashkent, where there are also a good many people of Turkish nationality. The only reason this did not happen was that units and subunits of the internal forces were sent in very quickly. It is to them, and them alone (and only yesterday, incidentally, some people were calling them virtually butchers and murderers) that many inhabitants of Fergana owe their lives. Sometimes unarmed, they marched on frenzied armed crowds to protect the people against anarchy.

But you cannot put a tank or a troop detail outside every house. And how else could you send people back to where they had experienced such things?

After visiting the military firing range where tens of thousands of refugees found refuge, aptly described by one journalist as a "camp of hatred and grief," I had dozens of entries in my notebook.

"We were surrounded by a dense crowd of women, old people, children";

"Why are they not burying the dead?"

"I implore you, find my children!.."

"My boy, my son, the thugs tossed him on a pitchfork..."

"Why do you journalists not write about how they raped our girls?"

"They were sticking heads on spears..."

"When will they send us away from this hell?.."

M. Khakimova (No husband. Three daughers and two grandchildren): "We won't go anywhere except Russia. Send us to Siberia or Kolyma, as long as it's Russia..."

P. Rustamov (Lost everything on that terrible night): "I was 10 when they expelled us from Georgia. And now, tragedy again. Where can we lay our heads now? Surely Russia will not reject us too?!"

How much effort it will take now to restore these people to normal life and restore their shatterededed faith that they can live peacefully in their own homes and that their lives and the lives of their children and grandchildren are reliably protected by the state!

Large judicial forces are currently at work in Uzbekistan. One would like to hope that evil will not go unpunished. But I do not think that legal protection measures alone will be enough to cut this Gordian knot.

I have in front of me a copy of a collective letter from Fergana addressed to the Congress of People's Deputies Presidium. It is a long letter, so I must ask readers to forgive me this lengthy extract.

"The events in Uzbekistan," the letter says, "were brewing for a long time. It is simply ridiculous to talk about some strawberries in the market that were supposedly the bone of contention. Yes, the whole of Uzbekistan knows this silly bazaar story. But this was not the reason for the start of mass pogroms, killings, robberies... Corruption, ineradicable bribery, social injustice, the excessive luxury available to some and the desperate poverty of others, the lack of protection for the majority, the thirst for easy profit and the strange absence of punishment for large-scale crimes—that is what played the decisive role in the outbreak of mass thuggery...

"But alas, the authorities did nothing to save the condemned people. The inactivity of the militia, the neutrality of the authorities, the absence of punishment for crimes and savage atrocities encouraged the thugs. A terrible avalanche of pogroms rolled from city to city. Now there were not hundreds, but thousands of Black Hundreders rampaging fearlessly through the streets of cities and settlements. Day and night fires blazed over Fergana, and cries for help were heard on every side, the city was groaning with pain and horror, yet the authorities were silent. It was not until 6 June that they gave the order to remove from the city the scantily clad, hungry, terrified women and children...

"Who is to blame for these atrocities?... Surely it is the people who are constantly whipping up tension in Karabakh, who provoked the events in Tbilisi, and who are now blackening our army and accusing it of crimes of fratricide. After all, it was these allegations that tied the soldiers' hands and allowed the dreadful mafia to sow death and terror among the defenseless population with impunity. Who benefits? Why is this happening? Who will answer for it? When will the people learn the truth?...

"And the thugs continue to travel the highways of Uzbekistan, and are only waiting for the soldiers of the internal forces to leave the cities and settlements. They know that they will leave. What lies in wait for us, when our cities are left defenseless again? Who will stop the mafia? Is there a force in our country that can deal with it—omnipotent, elusive, ubiquitous, terrible, bloodthirsty, and fabulously rich as it is? Who can stop it? Can our state be powerless before it?..."

I could cite extracts from very many resolutions by meetings of labor collectives and messages and appeals to the USSR Supreme Soviet, characterized by grief, anger, anxiety, and concern for the future of our state. And by warnings: Such "conflicts" could result in irremediable disaster for the country.

Down there in the Uzbek settlement of Gorskiy, in the yard of Yunus Osmanov's ruined house, where he liked to give his neighbors tea, his scorched remains are now at rest. And other events, also tragic, suddenly leaped into my mind.

A few years ago I was present at a trial at the USSR Supreme Court of terrorist militants from the so-called NPA (New Party of Armenia)—S. Zatikyan, A. Stepanyan, and E. Bagdasaryan.

Muscovites have not forgotten how in 1976—a year before the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution—the capital was shocked and shaken by the seemingly senseless cruelty of three home-made bomb explosions (one in an electric train car on the subway, two in the city center), as a result of which several dozen innocent people, including women and children, were killed or seriously injured. But not many people know that the Muscovites were due to receive the "main present" a year later—A. Stepanyan and E. Bagdasaryan brought three more bombs to the jubilee celebrations: They intended to explode one in the "Children's World" store, another at the "Revolution Square" subway station, the third I forget where.

But they did not manage to carry out their plan: Discarding a bag containing the "gift" in the waiting room at the Kursk Station, they fled. Fortunately the bombs were discovered and rendered harmless in good time.

And now an echo of those long-ago Moscow explosions has reached us. Only now it is in Nagorno-Karabakh, Tbilisi, Fergana...

Once again I may be accused: Why am I raking over the past? This is no time to sow discord. What is the connection between long-ago explosions in Moscow and the events in Fergana?

Perhaps there is no direct connection. But I remember how at that trial Stepan Zatikyan fiercely defended his nationalist views, and the right to use terrorism as a method of political struggle. But what struck me was not that, but the fact that there were people among our intelligentsia who tried to justify this savagery. A well-known "rights campaigner," for instance, even went on a hunger strike to protest the sentencing of the terrorists to the extreme penalty.

In the recent April events in Tbilisi, once again responsibility for the actions of extremists was basically transferred to the servicemen of the internal forces. People started calling them virtually murderers and butchers. A real campaign was launched against the internal forces, in the course of which—from the platform of the Congress of People's Deputies, no less—people asked: Do we need internal forces anyway?

I am writing about this because I am sure that without this persecution, things here in Fergana would not have reached the point of mass terror. Without this remarkable "debate," I am sure the extremists would not have had those 3 days in which to perpetrate their black deeds with total impunity. And there would not have been so many casualties, because the boys from the first subunits of troops would not have arrived unarmed (not only without submachineguns, but even without protective shields and rubber truncheons) and would not have been powerless against the ferocious gangs...

How is the fate of the Meskhetian Turks who left Uzbekistan being decided? Various proposals are being studied and examined: for instance, to create the conditions for them to return to their homeland—Georgia. But this is the question: Can Georgia accept such a number of refugees and settle them all together in the locations where they formerly lived? And what about the people who live there now? And a whole string of other insoluble problems follows.

This would mean the start of a "great resettlement of peoples" that would finally finish off our economy, which, as you know, is going through far from easy times.

To the best of my knowledge, the Turks themselves, or at least their leaders from the Turkish national committee, are opposed to remaining in Russia forever.

There is a third path: for everyone to return home. A cheerfully optimistic report has already appeared in the press that four Turkish families have agreed to go home. Yes, this option could be the most acceptable for the whole of our community, in order gradually (it will take some time) to resolve all the problems that have arisen on grounds of nationality. But is this sensible path a realistic one?

Kharkov Oblast Workers Assist in Crime Prevention

LD3007133589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] In Kharkov Oblast, local soviets decided to form workers' detachments to assist the militia. This was prompted by a noticeable rise in offenses. According to statistics, 70 to 90 various crimes are committed daily in the oblast. The workers' detachments will be attached to all rayon militia departments and will protect public order.

Bryansk Water Supplies Polluted, 'Harmful'

PM1207144189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[I. Pyrkh dispatch: "Emergency Situation: Water Calamity"]

[Text] Bryansk—It has been practically impossible recently to quench one's thirst in Bryansk. The soda water machines have been switched off throughout the city. Kvass is sold only for consumption off the premises, and you have to provide the container. Appeals not to drink unboiled water can be heard over the oblast radio.

I spoke to E. Burovaya, chief physician at the public health center.

"An emergency situation has arisen in Bryansk with regard to water," Elvira Sergeyevna explains. "After a heavy rain, the water supply was filled with such a great quantity of dirty substances that it became impossible to purify the water. We quickly cut off the large industrial region of the city, Bezhitskiy, where around 180,000 people live, and in fact transferred it to an emergency water supply from artesian wells. In Sovetskiy and Fokinskiy Rayons the inhabitants are still using water from the water supply. It contains many harmful substances that can cause various diseases. Unboiled water cannot even be used to wash drinking glasses without fear of catching a gastric disease. That is why we made an urgent announcement over the radio and sent out telexes to public catering and trade enterprises telling them to shut down their soda water machines and not to sell kvass for consumption on the street.

[Question] "So it looks as though an epidemic could even break out after these rains?"

[Answer] "It is not impossible that the water may turn out to be contaminated with some resistant toxic substances... We must not allow a calamity to happen. We are now establishing frequent daily monitoring of the water. However, the situation is dire. The underground water has been used up for industrial needs, and now you can scream till you are blue in the face, but the city has no water supply...."

Despite this, many Bryansk enterprises are even now using the valuable water from the wells, with impunity, for industrial needs. Altogether in a year 26 million cubic meters are used. But I do not remember the local authorities' implementing strict sanctions and cutting them off from using the artesian wells or forcing the pace of construction of conduits to carry water supplies from the river. Severe measures are not being taken against particularly large-scale contaminators such as the Bryansk machine-building and automobile plants and the road machine-building plant. These and other enterprises, together with the farmers, have turned the Desna River into a sewer....

Who knows what the next wet season may bring to the inhabitants of Bryansk. In any event, it is impossible to quench one's thirst or to take a shower or a bath today without taking a risk.

Clergymen Queried on Ukrainian Catholic 'Problem'

18001340 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
17 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by M. Derimov: "With the Trident as Before? Conversations With Uniate Clergy Leaders in Light of Facts of History and Modernity"]

[Excerpts] **Recently when I was in Transcarpathian Oblast I met with two of our compatriots who profess the Catholic religion.**

Ivan Antonovich Margitich lives in the village of Borzhavskoye in Vinogradovskiy Rayon. Iosif Stepanovich Golovach lives on the outskirts of Uzhgorod. They are elderly people—both 65 years of age. Both acquired a theological education and became priests in the Greco-Catholic (Uniate) Church during World War II when Transcarpathia was occupied by the Hungarian Horthy regime. Both of them disagreed with the decree of the Lvov Synod of 1946 and the decision adopted in 1949 by the leadership of the Uzhgorod-Mukachevo eparchy concerning abolishing the union and rejoining the Russian Orthodox Church. Both told me that at the present time they are "Vladykas," that is, bishops.

I had an extremely detailed discussion with both Ivan Antonovich and Iosif Stepanovich. They allowed me to tape record everything that was said. And we discussed a question that is raised practically every day in the broadcasts of the American Radio Liberty to our republic—about the so-called "UKTs [Ukrainian Catholic Church] problem."

I shall say at the outset that many of the statements of the "Vladykas" I visited clearly do not stand up under criticism in light of the historical facts. But at the same time they made sensible judgments about certain well-wishers who have recently been making a lot of noise about the "UKTs problem." Presenting the conversation that took place, I shall give the necessary references and explanations so the reader can figure out the essence of the problem.

1. Four Centuries of Jesuit "Self-Protection"

[passage omitted] "So what actually is the name of the church to which you belong? Uniate? Greco-Catholic? Ukrainian Catholic—UKTs?"

"UKTs is not quite correct from a theological standpoint," says I.A. Margitich. "For among our members are not only Ukrainians, but also Hungarians and Romanians. We are Greco-Catholic..."

"What do the Greeks have to do with this?"

"Essentially nothing. Actually, the language of our church services has always been Old Church Slavic and not Greek. More appropriate for us would be the title: 'Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite.'"

"Are there any canonical differences between your religion and Catholicism?"

"There are no such differences," Ivan Antonovich said, becoming animated. "We are not any separate church but a part of the single universal Catholic Church. We have the same leader—the pope in Rome. We have the same dogmas and canons. But we have our own ritual, the Eastern one, which has been handed down from Kievan Rus."

"Many historical facts show that over 4 centuries the Uniate has been used by various foreign oppressors in order to enslave the Ukrainian people...."

"Our church has never pursued political aims and has never tried to build or destroy any state system. And when we have encountered regimes that did not allow the Catholic Church to follow its principles, naturally, it resorted to self-protection tactics."

"Is that to say that there were confrontations with one state or another?"

"No, self-protection without confrontation."

"What is your attitude toward the repeatedly proclaimed slogan 'A crusade against godless Bolshevism'?"

"As far as I know, a crusade against the Soviet Union has never been proclaimed by a single church forum. Such a slogan contradicts church canons...." [passage omitted]

But let us return to the little country house in Transcarpathia where "Vladyka" Margitich and I were having an unhurried, peaceful conversation.

"Whom do you consider to be the highest leader of your church?" I asked Ivan Antonovich.

"Cardinal Miroslav Lyubachivskiy, of course."

"What is your opinion about known cases of cooperation between the late Metropolitan Sheptitskiy and Hitler's occupation forces?"

"Sheptitskiy as a quintessential Ukrainian had nothing at all in common with Hitler's men," the "Vladyka" declared categorically. "Sheptitskiy did not cooperate with Hitler's troops. And now we call him: 'God's Servant Metropolitan Andrey.'"

"What do you think of Metropolitan Laba and other collaborationist chaplains from the 'Galichina' SS division?"

"Can you really judge the whole church from their behavior?! They acted as they did on their own initiative."

"And how do you personally feel about Bandera's gangs? You understand that this is not an idle question: OUN [Association of Ukrainian Nationalists] centers now exist abroad as well."

"We reject the specific actions of Bandera's gangs that are incompatible with church doctrine...."

2. For Whom Does the End Justify the Means...

[Passage omitted] You cannot argue with history. It is impossible to prove that what happened did not happen. Historical facts refute the kind assurances of I.A. Margitich that the Uniate Church has not pursued political aims, did not participate in the "crusade," and did not cooperate with fascist occupation forces and their nationalist accomplices. But perhaps all the evil and bloody deeds that our commentators have long been calling the "alliance of the cross and trident" have disappeared into the past and there is no point in recalling them? Perhaps the UKTs has repented of its past political sins? Not likely!

But still our conversation with "Vladyka" Margitich continues and he, unlike the cardinal whom he considers to be his highest leader, frequently expresses quite loyal thoughts.

I drew his attention to the fact that Bandera gangs in foreign countries even today are using the slogan "Saint Yur and Saint Sofia against the Kremlin and Zagorsk," and asked him how he feels about such slogans.

"This is a slogan of confrontation," says Ivan Antonovich. "We are categorically against such slogans. My Greco-Catholic colleagues from Galicia also adhere to this. We are against political confrontation with the state."

Is that so? Have "Vladyka" Margitich's colleagues in their illegal religious activity carried out in Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol oblasts really renounced the nationalist rubbish? We shall look into this later, but for now—one more question:

"Are you a member of the so-called 'Committee for the Protection of the UKTs'"?

"I was," Ivan Antonovich clarifies. "I was a member of that committee. But now I have resigned from it."

"And what was the reason for your resignation from the committee?"

"You understand it was like this. In 1987 I learned that some kind of committee for the protection of our church had been formed in Lvov. Soon I was invited to join it and I accepted that invitation since I thought that it would help us to be legalized. But when I had studied the behavior of the members of this committee, and particularly the behavior of its so-called chairman, Ivan Gel...."

...The American Radio Liberty has been constantly harping on the "committee for the protection of the UKTs" for 3 years now, never ceasing in its attempts to intervene in our country's internal affairs. One quickly notes that in its programs on this subject there is constant mention of the names of adventurers from the so-called "Ukrainian Helsinki Union" who deliver misinformation to this same Radio Liberty and foreign nationalist publications. And

this is no surprise: After all, the "Committee for the Protection of the UKTs" is an offshoot of the UKhS [Ukrainian Helsinki Union], one of its hypostases.

The committee includes such individuals as a resident of the city of Chervonograd in Lvov Oblast, Stepan Khmara, who has been convicted of nationalist activity and is now an active member of the UKhS; Olga Goryn from Lvov, the wife of one of the UKhS leaders; M. Goryn, who in the past was convicted for participating in the crimes of the OUN gangs; Stefaniya Petrash-Sichko from Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, the wife of ardent nationalist P. Sichko and also a participant in the evil deeds of OUN gangs, for which she has been appropriately punished; Yaroslav Lesiv, a resident of Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast who has been convicted three times of various crimes and is now a Uniate priest and a UKhS member. And this gang is ruled by Ivan Gel, who lives in Lvov and has twice been convicted of nationalist activity, and who was nominated to be chairman of the "Committee for the Protection of the UKTs" by V. Chornovol, the Goryn brothers, and other UKhS leaders.

The committee tries as hard as it can to introduce discord and dissension into the community of believers, to inflame interreligious hostility, and to organize unsanctioned nationalist rallies and demonstrations. Thus on 22 January of this year on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the long-forgotten Petlyura state, which was sustained by foreign soldiers, UKhS members organized another unsanctioned rally next to the Lvov Cathedral of Saint Yur where a religious service was being held. During this the Orthodox clergy was insulted and the peace of the temple was disturbed."

But let us now see how Bishop I.A. Margitich describes the activity of the "Committee for the Protection of the UKTs."

"...I noted that Gel arbitrarily ascribes his actions to the committee and that he has appropriated a good deal of power that no one has given to him. These are clearly careerist tendencies. On the other hand, there is reason to suspect that Gel and other members of the committee want to draw believers into actions of a political nature or, rather, of a nationalist nature. This is why, after finding all this out for sure, I decided to leave the committee and suggested that other leaders take the same position with respect to Gel and the committee in general. The general idea held by our bishops is that the committee has been given no authority from the church hierarchy, that it organized itself without authorization and operates without authorization. We decided to distance ourselves from it so that it will be clear that we have our own religious position and do not want people without a calling, religiously inappropriate people, to hamper us from achieving legalization through legitimate channels...."

As we can see, one cannot deny that I.A. Margitich has a measure of common sense. But, readers, let us return to the question that was raised earlier: In reality, do Ivan Antonovich's colleagues from other western Ukrainian oblasts have the same attitude as he does toward "protection" by the nationalist demagogues and extremists? For in the notorious "Committee for the Protection of the UKTs," there is, in addition to the aforementioned Yaroslav Lesiv, an entire swarm of illegal Uniate clergy. But Radio Liberty is still making noise about more and more instigative actions in which clergy members are participating along with UKhS members. And not a single one of these actions is carried out without displays of nationalist symbols of yellow and blue flags and tridents.

In order to clarify this issue I met in Uzhgorod with "Vladyka" Golovach and asked him to give his opinion about the contacts of the Greco-Catholic clergy in Galicia with nationalistically inclined individuals like Gel, Chornovol, and K.

"Is the participation of these clergymen in nationalist schemes in keeping with the canonical norms of your church?" I asked.

"No, of course not," answered Iosif Stepanovich. "They are not acting according to church rules or according to their consciences."

And to confirm these words he related this curious story:

"Not long ago one of the church leaders from over there came to visit me. I asked him why he had placed our signatures on a declaration which we had not actually signed, and why our signatures had been placed on the document without our agreeing to it. And he said: 'The end justifies the means.' Well, here I told him directly: 'My friend, now I can see clearly where you are going. For this postulate of the Jesuits—that the end is supposed to justify the means of achieving it—was condemned by the Vatican way back in the last century." I warned him: "You are taking the wrong path. This desire to exaggerate each step so that later they can give information to Western 'voices' is a purely political and not a religious phenomenon. It would be inappropriate for bishops to do such a thing.... We do not need any nannies here. We are achieving our own legalization through legitimate channels and we do not need anyone to 'protect' us."

"That is, you reject the 'help' of the nationalists?"

"Yes! This will not wash with us in Transcarpathia. We cannot allow such a game with believers."

"Do you mean to say that such a 'game' would be rejected by believers?"

"That is precisely what I mean to say.... Why now, when interethnic feuds have been aggravated so much in various places, should we instigate them here where there are none?"

My conversations with the "Vladykas" from various places make it possible to draw a couple of cautious conclusions. The people with whom I spoke reject fairly resolutely the "protection" by the newly arrived UKhS committee. This cannot be said about their clerical colleagues from other western Ukrainian oblasts who are still following the path of Sheptitskiy, Slipoy, and Lyubachevskiy—the path of the same "alliance of the cross and trident." As concerns the "protectors of the faith" from the UKhS, they are clearly trying to draw the remnants of the Uniate flock into their ignoble political game. But they obviously have another goal as well—an extremely secular one....

As we know, the U.S. Congress annually allots 200 million dollars to the Radio Liberty-Radio Free Europe sabotage complex. We have already repeatedly shown the reader how the UKhS members are trying with all their might to take a bigger piece of this "pie." But, as they say, the appetite comes at meal time and they are looking lustfully at the rich Vatican sources of financing. Is this not why the defenders of rights from the "Committee for Protection of the UKTs" for whom nothing is sacred are so zealously sowing discord among believers?

Economic

Statistics Committee Releases Half-Year Figures

PM2907113089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1-3

[USSR State Committee for Statistics report: "More Vigorous Restructuring of the Economy. The USSR's Socioeconomic Development in the 1st Half of 1989"]

[Text] In the 1st half year the process of structural perestroyka of the economy and its reorientation toward social needs continued. Consumer goods production increased, and the volume of retail trade turnover and paid services to the population grew. On the basis of the reduction of expenditures on the country's defense, preparations are being carried out for the conversion of defense sectors with a view to expanding their contribution to the production of civil output.

New forms of economic management are becoming increasingly widespread. The model of economic accountability based on normative distribution of income (the second model) is being applied by more than 2,700 industrial enterprises and many enterprises and organizations in other sectors. The number of enterprises, associations, and organizations operating on a lease contract basis increased. By the end of the 1st half year, 903 industrial enterprises, 449 construction organizations, 434 retail trade enterprises, 139 public catering enterprises, 98 consumer service enterprises, and a number of other enterprises were operating under these conditions.

At the same time scientific and technical progress is developing at an inadequate pace, which has a negative effect on the efficiency of social production and the stepping up of its intensification.

The country's financial position and monetary circulation remain strained. A significant number of industrial enterprises failed to fulfill contractual commitments for output deliveries. Targets for the commissioning of many capacities are not being fulfilled, the commissioning of housing and other sociocultural facilities has slowed down, and the volume of uncompleted construction is growing. Wages are increasing more rapidly than labor productivity and consumer goods production. The problem of imbalance between the population's income and expenditure is becoming more acute. Shortages in the consumer market are not being reduced. In many regions the acute ecological situation persists.

The main indicators of the country's socioeconomic development in the 1st half of 1989 are characterized by the following figures (percentage growth):

[In the following table, Column A shows "Plan (or plan-based figures [utochnenyye raschety]) for the year"; Column B shows "Actual figure for 1st half of 1989 as a percentage of 1st half of 1988"]

	A	B
Gross national product	6.6	3.5
National income produced	6	2.5
Productivity of social labor	4.4	2.8
Industrial output	3.1	2.7
Production of consumer goods (excluding alcoholic beverages)	10.0	5.6
of which:		
food	11.0	2.9
nonfood	9.3	7.3
Commissioning funded by state centralized capital investments and resources of enterprise and organization funds		
fixed capital	13*	-0.8
housing	4	-4
State centralized capital investments and resources of enterprise and organization funds	3	3
Volume of freight shipments (consignment) by transport for public use	0.3	-1.0
Passenger turnover on transport for public use	2.1	2.3
Profit in the national economy (excluding sovkhozes and USSR Ministry of Finance Main Administration of State Insurance)	3.1	7.4
Number of workers and employees	0.4	-0.7

Wage fund in the national economy	3.5	9.5
Average monthly monetary wage of workers and employees	3.1	10
Average monthly remuneration of kolkhoz members in public-sector farming	4.5	8
Payments and benefits to the population from social consumption funds	5.5	5.9
Retail trade turnover in state and cooperative trade	7.6	9.4
Paid services to the population	10.5	10.2
Foreign trade turnover	2.7	1.3

* *[Footnote to figure "13" in column A above reads: "Total of enterprises' and organizations' plans"]*

In the 1st half year the high pace of economic growth achieved last year was not maintained. The reduction in the pace of industrial production, the volume of shipments, and revenue from foreign trade led to a sharp fall in the rate of growth of national income produced. **National income produced** increased over this period by R8 billion at comparable prices, as against R13 billion in January-June last year.

Industrial output totaling R462 billion was produced, which is R12 billion more than in the 1st half of last year.

The measures to normalize **finances** that are being carried out in the national economy have yet to yield the necessary results. The number of loss-making enterprises and organizations is falling only slowly, and they account for 6 percent of enterprises and organizations in industry and construction, 13 percent in transport and consumer services, and 16 percent in supplies and sales. Payment discipline is poor, and overdue debts on short-term bank loans and mutual settling of accounts between economic organizations totaled R19.1 billion on 1 July. A considerable number of enterprises and organizations are continuing to operate with a shortage of circulating capital of their own totaling more than R50 billion.

In the 1st half year turnover tax contributed to the budget R2.5 billion more than the plan and R6 billion more than in the same period last year. All the main sectors of the national economy, ministries, and departments are fulfilling the plans adopted for accumulations, but the budget received a shortfall amounting to R0.7 billion in payments from profit (income) as against the figures envisaged in the plan.

The increasing use of bank credit resources to cover the budget deficit and the granting of deferments on the repayment of loans are boosting inflationary processes in the economy and restricting the potential for the provision of credit to the national economy and the population. Every fifth ruble in short-term bank credits issued (some R63 billion) has no material backing.

Emissions are increasing. In the 1st half year the emission of money into circulation was one-third more than in the same period last year.

Social Development

The **population** of the country was 287.8 million on 1 July 1989.

Employment of the population. On average for the half year the country's labor resources were in excess of 160 million people, which is 57 percent of the population.

The state sector of the economy employs 73.5 percent of labor resources, kolkhozes' [collective farms] public-sector farming—7 percent, cooperatives operating in the production and services sphere and the sphere of individual labor—1.1 percent (not counting people who combine jobs), full-time education—7.7 percent, and personal subsidiary farms—2.6 percent.

Of those employed in housework or not working because of the seasonal nature of their work or for other reasons, nearly 6 million people could be brought into social production given the creation of certain conditions. Approximately one-half of these people are in the republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia, the Northern Caucasus, and the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. In those regions 812 employment centers (bureaus) have been set up. In the 1st quarter jobs were found, with their help, for fewer than 200,000 people (80 percent of those who applied), including 24,000 who were formerly employed in personal subsidiary farming and housework. In connection with the difficulties of job placement, a growth in young people not working can be observed. Among citizens given an official warning by the militia on the need to find a job, persons aged 18-29 account for some 40 percent, or, in the Georgian SSR, one-half.

In the 1st half year losses of work time as a result of mass absences from work (strikes) totaled more than 2 million person-days. This means that in the country as a whole 15,000 people a day were not working. The shortfall in output and the volume of work not done amounted to approximately R200 million, not counting losses suffered by associated enterprises in connection with interruptions in deliveries.

The population's income. The average monetary wage of workers and employees in the national economy, compared with the 1st half of last year, increased from R215 to R236, and kolkhoz members' remuneration correspondingly from R153 to R168. In industry (at enterprises of 32 industrial ministries) the growth in the average wage in January-June for each 1 percent increase in labor productivity was 1.8, in construction—2.1, and in railroad transport—4.0 percent.

The increase in wages was not backed up by a corresponding growth in the end results of production and an improvement in efficiency; overreporting and wage-padding have not been eradicated.

The dynamics of wages in the 1st half year were affected by the imperfect procedure for the distribution of profit and the formation of economic incentive funds, the increase in the fund for material incentives for the fulfillment of contractual commitments, the implementation of centralized measures to increase wages, the expansion of economic accountability projects at contract prices in scientific, planning, and design organizations, and other factors.

To some extent the increase in wages was due to enterprises' switching to new remuneration conditions and the payment of funds previously accumulated for these purposes.

By 1 July 1989 some 60 million workers in production sectors were transferred to new, increased wage rates and salaries. A switch has begun to new remuneration conditions funded by the resources earned by labor collectives at enterprises and organizations in trade, public catering, and material and technical supply.

Average wages at scientific research, planning, and design organizations increased by 30 percent.

The population received payments and benefits from social consumption funds totaling some R86 billion, which is R4.8 billion, or 5.9 percent, more than in the 1st half of last year.

The rate of growth in the population's monetary income was 40 percent in excess of the rate of growth of their expenditure on the purchase of goods and payment for services.

The population's investments in USSR savings bank institutions increased by R17.7 billion in the 1st half year, and reached R314.4 billion. Furthermore, as of 1 July certificates totaling R1.7 billion were sold.

According to data from a survey of 90,000 family budgets, the population's average per capita monetary income in the 1st half year was R157 per month per family member for workers and employees, and R117 for kolkhoz members, which is respectively 8 percent and 10 percent higher than in the 1st half of 1988. Last year 12.6 percent of the country's population had an average per capita income of up to R75 a month, 15.7 percent—R75-100, 17.6 percent—R100-125, 15.7 percent—R125-150, 12.2 percent—R150-175, 9.0 percent—R175-200, 10.1 percent—R200-250, and 7.1 percent—more than R250. In the 1st half of 1989 the increase in incomes took place mainly through increased wages (for workers and employees this accounted for 83 percent of the increase, and for kolkhoz members—77 percent).

There is still a substantial gap in the level of average per capita income for different social groups of the population, due to differences both in wages (for kolkhoz members, wages were 30 percent lower than for workers and employees) and in the composition of families (the proportion of dependents is higher in the families of kolkhoz members than for workers and employees).

Consumer goods production totaled R206 billion (at retail prices), which is R15 billion, or 7.8 percent, more than in the same period last year. The production of food products and nonfood goods was up by R9.6 billion, or 5.6 percent; the total figure was R181 billion.

The production of the main food products in the 1st half year is characterized by the following figures:

[In the following table, Column A shows "Actual figure in 1st half of 1989"; Column B shows "Percentage fulfillment of target"; Column C shows "1st half of 1989 as percentage of 1st half of 1988"]

	A	B	C
Meat (industrial production), million tonnes	6.2	106	100.3
Sausage products, million tonnes	1.9	102	102
Butter, thousand tonnes	855	107	99.8
Wholemilk products in milk equivalent, million tonnes	17.4	104	103
Full fat cheeses, thousand tonnes	453	105	101
Edible fish products, including canned fish, million tonnes	2.9	109	98
Margarine products, thousand tonnes	808	101	95
Vegetable oil, million tonnes	1.8	103	105
Confectionery, million tonnes	2.6	103	105
Canned foods, billion standard cans	7.2	109	100.7
of which: fruit and vegetables	4.4	114	100.9
Granulated sugar, million tonnes	3.6	105	99

At many food industry enterprises plans for the production of particular types of output adopted for the 1st half year and the actual output were lower than the actual level in 1988. Therefore although plans are fulfilled, the demand for these products is not met.

Compared with the same period last year, meat production was reduced by enterprises in the Ukrainian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, the Lithuanian SSR, the Latvian SSR, the Kirghiz SSR, and the Tajik SSR. Production of butter fell in the Ukrainian SSR, the Belorussian SSR, the Azerbiajan SSR, the Moldavian SSR, the Latvian SSR, the Tajik SSR, and the Estonian SSR; wholemilk products in the Azerbaijan SSR; vegetable oil in the Belorussian SSR and the Georgian SSR; and confectionery in the Georgian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR. In all the union republics (except the Uzbek SSR, the Kazakh SSR, and the Armenian SSR) the production of margarine products fell. Enterprises in the Moldavian SSR did not fulfill the half-year plan for meat production.

Nonfood consumer goods worth R113 billion were produced, which is R7.7 billion, or 7.3 percent, more than in the 1st half of last year. The plans adopted by enterprises for the 1st half year were 104 percent fulfilled. At the same time these targets are lower than those derived from the annual quota of working time falling within the period. Every 10th enterprise failed to fulfill the targets stipulated. Production of the following articles was lower than planned: tape recorders (64,700 fewer than planned), motor cycles (12,000 fewer), refrigerators and freezers (11,700 fewer), vacuum cleaners (4,200 fewer), and bicycles, not including children's (10,200 fewer).

The production of the most important types of nonfood goods as compared with the same period last year increased on a smaller scale than envisaged in the target for the year. Thus the production of radio receivers increased by 4 percent as against a planned growth rate of 16 percent, washing machines by 8 percent as against 16, color televisions 11 percent as against 14, and vacuum cleaners 5 percent as against 15.

In the 1st half year light industry goods were produced worth R48.9 billion, which is 5.5 percent more than in the 1st half of 1988. The growth in the production of light industry goods compared with the same period last year was R2.6 billion. This was achieved mainly through the production of articles sold with supplements to retail prices. Some 11 percent of the total number of enterprises violated contractual commitments. The level of fulfillment of contractual commitments overall was 99.7 percent, and contractual commitments were fulfilled at a lower level than this by enterprises in the Azerbaijan SSR (98.1 percent), the Uzbek SSR (99.0 percent), and the Georgian SSR (99.2 percent).

The fulfillment of targets for the production of nonfood consumer goods is characterized by the following figures:

[In the following table, Column A shows "Actual in 1st half of 1989," Column B "Percentage fulfillment of target," and Column C "1st half of 1989 as a percentage of 1st half of 1988"]

	A	B	C
Textiles—total, billion square meters	6.7	102	102
of which cotton	4.1	101	101
Knitted goods, million items	964	101	103
of which children's goods (union republic ministries of light industry)	519	104	104
Hosiery, million pairs	1,057	101	99.2
of which children's (union republic ministries of light industry)	375	102	100.4
Sewn goods industry output (at normative processing cost), million rubles	1,413	105	103
Footwear, million pairs	417	100.9	102
of which children's (union republic ministries of light industry)	188	102	101
Television sets, millions	4.9	100.5	103
of which color sets	3.1	101	111
Refrigerators and freezers, millions	3.2	99.6	103
Radio receivers, millions	4.2	100.9	104
Tape recorders, millions	2.8	98	102
Video recorders, thousands	56.5	108	181
Sewing machines, thousands	766	100	95
of which "zigzag" type	496	99.4	97
Washing machines, millions	3.3	101	108
Vacuum cleaners, millions	2.5	99.8	105
Furniture, billion rubles	4.8	102	107
Motor cycles, thousands	487	98	99.3
Bicycles (excluding children's), millions	2.8	99.6	99.2
Cars, thousands	602	100.1	91
Wallpaper, million standard sheets	290	102	105
Paper and stationery products, millions of rubles	436	101	107
Elements and galvanic batteries for domestic electrical appliances, millions	487	101	99
Summer houses, including component kits, timber frames, and domestic units (in part, deliveries to trading organizations), thousands	59.4	96	117
Synthetic detergents, thousand tonnes	705	103	107
Household soap, thousand tonnes	358	103	105
Toilet soap, thousand tonnes	156	102	104
Cooking salt (extracted), million tonnes	7.2	104	101

Retail trade turnover and paid services. The total volume of retail trade turnover in state and cooperative trade in the 1st half of 1989 was R192.2 billion, or 101.9 percent of plan. The trade turnover plan was fulfilled by all the union republics. Compared with the same period last year it increased by R16.5 billion, of which R5.3 billion was accounted for by alcoholic beverages (a 28 percent growth in sales) and R2.5 billion by output from cooperatives and individual labor activity and sales through nonfood commission stores; R4 billion of the increase in trade turnover was due to the growth of average retail prices.

The sale of food products and nonfood goods increased by 7.1 percent. There were increases of 2-5 percent in sales of meat products, wholemilk products, vegetable oil, confectionery, nonalcoholic beverages and mineral waters, leather footwear, refrigerators, radio receivers, television sets, vacuum cleaners, clocks and watches, washing machines, sports products (excluding clothing and footwear), china and glassware, furniture, slates, and cars (from current production); of 6-10 percent in sales of butter, dd)fruit and citrus fruits, clothing and textiles, hosiery, color televisions, tape recorders, bicycles, and mopeds; sales of sawn lumber increased 24 percent, and of motor vehicle gasoline 21 percent.

The sale of vegetable and fruit juices remained at last year's level, sales of bread products fell by approximately 1 percent, those of vegetables, fish products, cameras, and rubber footwear fell by 2-4 percent, margarine products, motor cycles, and motor scooters by 5-7 percent, sugar by 11 percent, and potatoes by 12 percent.

Despite the fact that in the 1st half year 2 percent more food products (excluding potatoes, fruit, and vegetables) were channeled into trade than in the same period last year, the volume was insufficient to improve food supplies.

The demand for meat is poorly satisfied. In many oblasts the trade in meat is still taking place by coupons or using other forms of rationing, and meat is on free sale at cooperatives' prices.

The supply of fish, fish products, cheese, and tea to the population suffers interruptions; trade in cold drinks and ice cream is not satisfactorily organized in the cities at the height of the summer season, especially in mass vacation areas. The supply of confectionery to the population has imrpoved somewhat. However, in a number of oblasts the population's demand for confectionery is not satisfied. In some oblasts there are serious shortcomings in the supply of bread and bakery products to the population, although in general food grain resources are sufficient to satisfy the population's demand for bread products. The population is not fully supplied with potatoes or fruit and vegetable produce.

Food products bought at state (subsidized) prices do not cover the growing demand for them, and the population is turning with increasingly frequency to the services of cooperative trade and the kolkhoz market. Because of this, average prices for the purchase of food are increasing, and compared with the same period last year they rose by 3 percent overall. The population has begun to pay 7-10 percent more for beef and salted and dried fish, 8-10 percent more for canned meat, and 4 percent more for sausage products.

In the 1st half year kolkhoz market prices increased 4 percent compared with the same period last year, including increases of 3 percent for meat and poultry, 19 percent for potatoes, 2 percent for vegetables, and 3 percent for fruit. They increased in all the union republics except the Kirghiz SSR, the Belorussian SSR, and the Estonian SSR.

Shortages and quotas on many goods in daily demand led to increased stockpiling among the population. According to figures from the survey of family budgets, on 31 March stocks of sugar in urban families were twice what they were on the same date last year. Kolkhoz members' stocks of meat products are sufficient to supply the existing level of consumption for 1.5 months, and stocks of flour and sugar are sufficient for 3 months.

Trade turnover at public catering enterprises in state and cooperative trade increased 6.5 percent compared with the 1st half of last year and totaled R16.0 billion (103.4 percent of plan). The organization and standard of services to the population by public catering enterprises remained at a low level.

The situation remains unsatisfactory in regards to meeting the population's demand for sewn, knitted, and hosiery goods and footwear, despite a 5 percent increase in the supply of these goods to trade.

There are shortages in the trade in television sets, radio receivers, refrigerators and freezers, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, sewing machines, motor cycles, bicycles, furniture, many types of kitchenware, wallpaper, perfumery and cosmetics, and other goods.

Production is increasing and additional import purchases are being made of soap and detergents, which has made it possible to increase the volume of deliveries to trade. In the 1st half year increases in sales compared with the same period last year were 18 percent for household soap, 29 percent for toilet soap, and 30 percent for synthetic detergents. However, demand is not slackening off, because of continuing purchases for stockpiling. With a view to normalizing the situation, a system of coupons for the supply of these products to the population has been introduced in a number of oblasts.

The situation with regard to supplies of medicines and medical articles to the population is acute; demand for a number of them has been 60-85 percent satisfied.

As a result of the measures being taken to increase the resources of timber and construction materials, shipments of them to the trading system increased by 20 percent compared with the first half of last year. However, the population is still having difficulties in acquiring many of these materials. There is a shortage of lumber, plywood, wood-fiber and splint-slab board, linoleum, facing tiles, various pipes, rolled metal, and other materials. Trade in local construction materials has not been properly organized everywhere.

Paid services to the population amounted to R32 billion, this being R3 billion (10.2 percent) more than in the same period last year. The target for total enterprise plans was fulfilled 101.8 percent. However, the plan set at the national economic level was underfulfilled by R206 million (99.4 percent).

The plan for the provision of services to the population was fulfilled 112.8 percent by enterprises and organizations subordinate to ministries and departments for which the provision of paid services is not their main activity.

In January-June specialized consumer services enterprises and organizations carried out services worth R6.2 billion, or 10.1 percent more than in the same period of 1988. The plan target for the provision of consumer services to the population was 104.9 percent fulfilled. Only the Azerbaijan SSR (97.0 percent) failed to fulfill the plan.

Housing, social, and cultural construction. State capital investment financed the commissioning of 547,000 new apartments with a total area of 33.8 million square meters, which is less than the same period last year.

Housing amounting to 35 percent of the annual target was built in the first half of the year. The plan set for the year was less than 30 percent fulfilled by the Armenian SSR, the Estonian SSR, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Electronics Industry, and a number of other ministries and departments.

Housing conditions in apartment blocks forming part of the state and social housing stock and the housing construction cooperative stock were improved for around 1 million city families and single persons, while around 500,000 people were rehoused from dilapidated and dangerous apartment blocks into well-appointed housing. However, almost 4.5 million people still live in such blocks.

The annual target for major repairs to housing was only one-third fulfilled during this period.

In January-June general educational schools with places for 233,200 pupils, vocational and technical educational establishments with places for 11,700 pupils, preschool institutions with 113,100 places, hospitals with 13,300 beds, health centers for 37,700 visits per shift, residential homes for the elderly and infirm with 2,400 places, and clubs and houses of culture with 39,000 places were commissioned. Compared with the same period last year, the commissioning of these facilities fell as follows: schools by 53 percent, vocational and technical colleges by 44 percent, preschool institutions by 18 percent, hospitals by 7 percent, health centers by 1 percent, residential homes for the elderly and infirm by 40 percent, and clubs and houses of culture by 9 percent. The level of fulfillment of the annual targets for the commissioning of such buildings was 12-20 percent.

Some 2.5 million students at general education schools received secondary **education.** Higher and secondary specialized educational establishments trained 2 million specialists for the national economy, of which 800,000 received higher education.

Crime. There were 1,102,000 crimes recorded in the country since the beginning of the year, this being 32 percent more than in the same period of last year; one in every six crimes was serious.

The number of crimes recorded per 100,000 inhabitants increased across all union republics, particularly in the Estonian SSR (87 percent), the Lithuanian SSR (55 percent), the Kirghiz SSR (42 percent), the Moldavian SSR (37 percent), the Belorussian SSR (36 percent), the Ukrainian SSR (35 percent), and in many oblasts of the RSFSR.

There has been a further rise in mercenary crimes, in particular: theft, by 70 percent; robbery, by 90 percent; mugging [razboy], by 70 percent; and also premeditated crimes against the individual—including aggravated assault, by 50 percent; murder, by 30 percent; and rape by 20 percent.

The fall in the number of recorded cases of criminal hooliganism recorded in recent years was followed in the first half of this year by a 16 percent increase. The number of cases of arson against state, social, and personal property increased by more than half, totaling 3,900.

The number of recorded crimes committed by or involving juveniles was 97,500, which is 22 percent more than in the same period last year.

The number of crimes committed by people under the influence of drink increased by 14 percent, and the number of repeat offenders increased by 10 percent.

Mass violations of the law occurred during events in the Fergana Valley, Guryev Oblast, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Condition of the environment. On the whole, enterprises reduced discharges of harmful substances into the atmosphere by 1.8 million tonnes, or 6 percent, compared with the first half of last year. At the same time, 9,000 enterprises increased such discharges by more than 1.2 million tonnes. A reduction in air pollution was recorded in virtually all union republics with the exception of the Uzbek and Turkmen SSR's, where discharges increased by 45,000 tonnes or 8 percent, and by 5,000 tonnes or 2 percent respectively compared with the first half of 1988.

Among the industrial centers with the highest level of atmospheric pollution discharges decreased in Novokuznetsk, Nizhniy Tagil, Lipetsk, Dneprodzerzhinsk, and a number of other places.

Cases of high concentrations of harmful substances in the air were recorded in 58 of the country's cities, particularly Arkhangelsk, Amursk, Alaverdi, Bezmein, Dzerzhinsk (Gorkiy Oblast), Yerevan, Zyryanovsk, Magnitogorsk, Norilsk, Poronaysk (Sakhalin Oblast), Syktyvkar, Tolyatti, Ust-Kamenogorsk, and a number of other cities. These mainly occurred through the fault of enterprises in the timber, metallurgical, and other sectors.

Certain cities suffered isolated instances of [zalpovyy] atmospheric pollution with highly toxic substances as a result of accidents. In particular, people were poisoned as a result of a leakage of chlorine at Khabarovsk City's water purification installations. People were also injured as a result of accidents at the Batumi Chemical and Pharmaceutical Plant, the Alaverdi Mining and Metallurgical Combine, and a number of other enterprises.

Cases of significant pollution of reservoirs were recorded in many parts of the country. A coastal zone in the Sochi area was polluted as a result of an isolated discharge of petroleum products by the RSFSR Ministry of Motor Transport's "Sochiavtotrans" Production Association. As a result of discharges from a USSR Ministry of the Medical Industry biochemical plant in Gubakha City (Perm Oblast) the concentration of petroleum products in the Kosva River reached an extremely high level.

There were isolated instances of discharges into the Nizhniy Tagil and Shchelkov (Moscow Oblast) city sewerage systems, into the port of Ventspils, and in a number of other regions.

City beaches in the Feodosiya area were closed due to the serious sanitary situation, and bathing restricted in the Sea of Azov around Mariupol City and certain other mass vacation areas.

In connection with violations of the requirements of nature conservation legislation, work was suspended at certain enterprises and administrative proceedings instituted against the guilty parties in Krasnodar, Krasnoyarsk, and Maritime Krays, Leningrad, Rostov, Ryazan, Gorkiy, Yaroslavl, Irkutsk, Donetsk, Sumi, Rovno, and Samarkand Oblasts, and the Georgian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's.

Scientific and Technical Progress

State registers recorded 6 scientific discoveries in the sphere of physics, chemistry, biology, and medicine and 42,000 inventions.

Some R19.4 billion in state capital investment—or 11 percent more than in the same period of 1988—was used to retool and modernize existing production in January-June this year. Enterprises' and organizations' own funds for these purposes amounted to 77 percent of the total volume of state capital investment.

Some 515 automatic lines have been set up at industrial enterprises, of which 93 are rotary or rotary-conveyer lines. Some 1,500 sections and shops have been switched to comprehensive mechanization and automation.

Industry has assimilated and begun production of 1,800 new products. These include self-propelled grain harvesting combines, automated modular gas-pumping units, and more sophisticated machines for oil and gas prospecting.

Unique shipboard equipment for drilling operational and exploratory wells at sea to depths of up to 7,000 meters has been developed. Prototype coal-mining combines equipped with a microprocessor-based automatic regulation system have been manufactured, as has a deluxe passenger train capable of 200 km per hour for interoblast routes.

It is still taking enterprises in the metallurgical and chemical and timber complexes a long time to assimilate output based on licences acquired abroad.

State orders for 1989 for the delivery of fundamentally new types of equipment and materials in the first half of the year were 16 percent fulfilled—of which orders for equipment and materials developed in accordance with targeted scientific and technical programs were 16 percent fulfilled, and orders for equipment and materials developed in accordance with interbranch scientific and technical complex development projects were 19 percent fulfilled. This indicator is somewhat higher for the targets of the CEMA countries' comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress (27 percent). Deliveries of 158 types of new output have not begun, 99 of which are accounted for by enterprises in the machine building complex.

The fuel and energy complex increased coal mining by the open method at open cuts. The amount of oil obtained by using modern thermal, physical, chemical, and hydrodynamic methods of enhancing the yield of oil beds remains small.

In the metallurgical complex production of high-grade cold-drawn steel and reinforced heat-treated rolled metal has fallen compared with the first half of last year. Production of cold-rolled sheet metal increased by 2 percent. Continuous casting made up 17.1 percent of total steel production compared with 16.5 percent in January-June 1988, and oxygen converter and electric furnace steel accounted for 47.6 and 47.4 percent respectively.

The renewal of output in the machine building complex reached 11.3 percent in January-June (the plan for the year is 10.8 percent) as against 8.8 percent in the same period last year. The models supplied for production are, on average, 1.7 times more productive than standard [bazovyy] equipment. The proportion of machines and equipment automated using microprocessors amounted to 6.3 percent of total goods output.

In the chemical and timber complex synthetic fibers and yarns increased as a proportion of the total output of chemical fibers and yarns, and radial tires increased as a proportion of the total output of motor vehicle tires. The comprehensiveness of oil refining improved.

In the construction complex production of prefabricated buildings (modules) increased by 20 percent; the proportion of neat cement obtained by the resource-saving "dry" method was equivalent to 17.6 percent (the figure for the first half of 1988 was 17 percent).

On kolkhozes and sovkhozes [state farms] the area of spring grain crops cultivated using intensive techniques amounted to 21.2 million hectares, sugar beet covered 2.9 million hectares, and potatoes and vegetables covered 1.3 million hectares.

Savings of the most important types of material, fuel, and energy resources amounted to more than half of that envisaged for 1989.

Industry

Contract commitments for output deliveries in line with state orders and under direct agreements with consumers were fulfilled 99.3 percent. Contract discipline was breached by 14 percent of enterprises and associations whose deliveries of output to consumers fell short by R2.8 billion.

Compared with the first half of 1988, **production of industrial output** increased by 2.7 percent, including a 1.8 percent increase in the production of the means of production (Group "A" output) and a 5.3 percent increase in the production of articles for consumption (Group "B" output).

Labor productivity increased by 4.1 percent. The entire growth of industrial output was secured through higher labor productivity with an absolute reduction in manpower.

Prime cost of industrial output was reduced.

Profits increased by 6 percent; R6.2 billion in profits over and above the plan were earned.

Figures for industry's work by union republics in the first half of 1989 are given below (in percentages): [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—Fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries; Column B—Output not supplied to consumers, million rubles; Column C—Proportion of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column D—Actual output volume (work, services) growth rate; Column E—Actual labor productivity growth rate]:

	A	B	C	D	E
RSFSR	99.2	1,805	15	2.1	3.9
Ukrainian SSR	99.3	502	12	3.4	4.8
Belorussian SSR	99.9	10	3	4.8	5.1
Uzbek SSR	99.0	102	15	7.7	7.4
Kazakh SSR	99.6	48	9	3.3	4.2
Georgian SSR	99.0	51	14	3.5	4.1
Azerbaijan SSR	98.8	67	14	2.6	6.5
Lithuanian SSR	99.8	12	4	3.6	5.2
Moldavian SSR	99.5	22	13	6.0	6.7
Latvian SSR	99.5	24	13	2.6	5.2
Kirghiz SSR	99.5	14	13	7.2	8.1
Tajik SSR	99.0	22	18	5.6	5.6
Armenian SSR	97.9	74	17	-14.0	-6.9
Turkmen SSR	99.6	9	7	6.6	7.8
Estonian SSR	99.5	11	6	1.0	2.9

At industrial enterprises and associations working under conditions of state acceptance of output 8 percent of output worth R7.7 billion was rejected on first submission in the first half of the year; output worth R49 million was scrapped once and for all.

Increases in output are being held back by shortcomings in the use of industrial capacity. According to survey figures, two-thirds of new installations commissioned over the past 18 months failed to start up their capacities on schedule. Facilities at these installations have been operating at just 56 percent of planned capacity.

Despite the existing shortcomings in meeting the population's need for construction materials and other consumer goods, facilities producing building bricks, panels for large-panel housing construction, knitwear, and whole-milk products have been operating at just half capacity. The new capacities at the Shaksha (Bashkirian Autonomous SSR) and Novokuznetsk (Kemerovo Oblast) large-panel housing construction plants, the sewn goods and knitwear factory at Poti, the Akhtyrka Cheese Plant in Sumi Oblast, and the Nikolayevskiy Dairy Combine are considerably underworked.

As a result of the delays in assimilating new capacities the national economy failed to obtain output worth around R700 million in the first half of the year.

The work of national economic complexes in the first half of 1989 are characterized by the following figures (in percentages): [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—Fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries; Column B—Output not supplied to consumers, million rubles; Column C—Proportion of enterprises failing to meet contract commitments; Column D—Fulfillment of profits plan; Column E—Actual output volume growth rate (work, services); Column F—Actual labor productivity growth rate]:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Fuel and energy complex	99.1	246	29	107.2	0.1	2.2
Metallurgical complex	99.0	403	33	108.2	1.7	3.9
Machine building complex	99.1	431	32	109.6	4.3	8.8
Chemical and timber complex	98.8	640	34	112.6	2.5	4.3
Agro-industrial complex	99.7	256	8	113.4	3.8	5.6
Social complex (union republic ministries of light industry)	99.7	169	11	111.6	2.7	6.6
Construction complex (construction materials industry)	98.8	130	23	107.5	2.5	5.3

Enterprises in the **fuel and energy complex** fulfilled the January-June targets for coal and gas extraction. Some 4.7 billion cubic meters of gas and 8.1 million tonnes of coal, including 3.4 million tonnes of coking coal, were extracted over and above the targets.

The proportion of electricity generated by nuclear power stations amounted to 12.6 percent of total electricity production (13.1 percent in the first half of 1988).

The target for the extraction of oil, including gas condensate, was not fulfilled; there was a shortfall of 3.3 million tonnes.

The following production associations in the oil industry failed to fulfill their targets—"Varyeganneftegaz" (69 percent), "Purneftegaz" (89 percent), "Tengizneftegaz," (50 percent), "Tadzhikneft" (78 percent), and "Kirgizneft" (93 percent).

The following gas industry production associations worked unsatisfactorily: "Orenburggazprom" (95 percent fulfillment), "Astrakhangazprom" (44 percent), and "Norilskgazprom" (98 percent), which failed to supply around 3 billion cubic meters of gas.

The following coal mining enterprises failed to cope with their targets: "Sakhalinugol," "Gruzugol," "Ekibastuzugol," and "Sverdlovantratsit"—they recorded a production shortfall of more than 1 million tonnes of coal.

In the first half of the year enterprises in the **metallurgical complex** fulfilled state orders for the main types of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy output, apart from copper.

At the same time, there continue to be delays with the production of such progressive types of metal output as high-grade cold-rolled steel (98 percent fulfilled), high-impact drilling pipes (81 percent) and pump and compressor pipes (40 percent), and a number of other items whose utilization makes for considerable savings of metal in the national economy.

State orders for the production of finished rolled metal were not fulfilled by the Chelyabinsk (97 percent), Kommunarsk (93 percent), and Cherepovets (99.8 percent) Metallurgical Combines; the Kramatorsk (92 percent) and Uzbek (78 percent) Metallurgical Plants; and the "Dneprospetsstal" Electrometallurgical Plant (99 percent). These enterprises failed to deliver output worth R115 million.

One in three of the complex' enterprises failed to cope with its contractual commitments.

In accordance with its targets the **machine building complex** ensured that output stayed ahead (by 60 percent) of industry as a whole. Production of progressive types of machines and equipment, computerized metal-cutting machine tools, computers, and machines and equipment for the continuous casting of billets was built up at a faster rate. The state order targets for technological equipment for the light industry and the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex were fulfilled.

Production volumes of a number of the most important types of output fell in comparison with the same period last year, and the plan targets for AC electric motors, oil apparatus, and excavators were not fulfilled.

Many machine building enterprises continue to work in fits and starts, producing most of their monthly program in the last working week of the month.

An unsatisfactory position has emerged in the chemical and timber complex. Targets for the production of raw material chemical products—synthetic ammonia, caustic soda, soda ash, sulfuric acid, and commercial timber and pulp—have not been met, and output of mineral fertilizers, PVC resin, lumber, and cardboard has fallen. The work of the following production associations producing caustic soda has been unsatisfactory: the Sayanskiy "Khimprom" and "Tadzhikkhimprom." Considerable lags in sulfuric acid production have been permitted by the Samarkand and Krasnodar Chemical Plants. The unstable work of the Gorlovka and Astrakhan Rubber Footwear Plants to a considerable extent brought about the sector's production shortfall of 763,000 pairs of rubber footwear since the start of the year. The Bratsk Industrial Timber Complex, and the Solikamsk and Kamskiy Pulp and Paper Combines have been working to a poor standard in the first half of the year.

Construction complex enterprises on the whole have coped successfully with the fulfillment of the January-June targets for the production of basic industrial output—cement, asbestos, slate, asbestos-cement pipes and sleeves, and building bricks. At the same time, difficulties have not been eliminated in supplying slate to construction sites in the Uzbek SSR (there was a shortfall of 13.4 million standard tiles compared with the stipulated targets) and in the Turkmen SSR (2.9 million standard tiles), of soft roofing materials for the Georgian SSR (more than 11 million square meters) and the Estonian SSR (2.6 million square meters), and of asbestos-cement pipes and sleeves for the Azerbaijan SSR (55 km of standard pipes).

Production of certain highly important types of industrial output is characterized by the following figures:

	Actual in first half of 1989	% fulfillment of target	First half of 1989 as % of first half of 1988
Fuel and Energy Complex			
Electricity, billion kilowatt-hours	868		101
Oil (including gas condensate), million tonnes	304	99	97
Gas, billion cubic meters	399	101	104
Coal, million tonnes	386	102	98
Metallurgical Complex			
Steel, million tonnes	81.1	100	99.1
Rolled ferrous metals, (finished), million tonnes	58.1	101	100.6
Steel pipes, million tonnes	10.4	100.9	101
Iron ore, million tonnes	121	100.7	97
Special, specialized, and transfer metal-cutting machine tools, thousands	25.3	103	104
Metal-cutting machine tools with digital program control, thousands	11.9	106	108
Forging and pressing machines with digital program control, thousands	1.1	97	114
Instruments, automation equipment, and spares, billion rubles	2.7	105	105
Medical equipment and spares, million rubles	575	112	106
Computer equipment and spares, billion rubles	3.7	109	115

Metal rolling equipment, million rubles	126	101	108
Oil equipment, million rubles	123	98	90
Chemical equipment and spares, million rubles	522	99	99.9
Tractors, thousands	278	99.6	98
Agricultural machinery, billion rubles	1.9	99.8	92
Machines and equipment for stockraising and feed production, billion rubles	1.4	100.4	96
Excavators, thousands	17.8	96	84
Lead batteries for vehicles and storage batteries, millions	4.6	100.7	97
Chemical and Timber Complex			
Mineral fertilizers (in 100 % nutrient equivalent), million tonnes	18.4	99.9	98
Sulfuric acid, million tonnes	14.3	97	97
Caustic soda, thousand tonnes	1,635	98	97
Chemical fibers and yarns, thousand tonnes	783	101	100
Synthetic resins and plastics, million tonnes	2.9	100.5	102
Thermoplastic pipes and pipeline parts, thousand tonnes	103	99	104
Truck tires, millions	13.9	100.3	100.9
Car tires, millions	12.2	103	104
Medicines, million rubles	1,857	102	106
Paper, million tonnes	3.2	101	100
of which, newsprint, billion square meters	18.4	99.97	100.7
Construction Complex Industry			
Cement, million tonnes	70.5	102	101
Asbestos cement sheet (shingles), billion standard tiles	4.5	101	102
Asbestos-cement pipes and sleeves, standard pipes, thousand kilometers	42.1	100.3	103
Soft roofing and insulating materials, million square meters	1,001	99.5	99
Three-layer shatterproof glass (triplex), thousand square meters	1,387	102	105

Agro-Industrial Complex

In the first half of 1989 food products worth R68.3 billion were produced, which is an increase of 2.9 percent in comparison with the corresponding period last year.

The union republics' production of **food goods** (excluding alcoholic beverages) in the 1st half year of 1989 is characterized by the following data (at retail prices; millions of rubles):

	Actual in first half of 1989	% fulfillment of target	First half of 1989 as % of first half of 1988
RSFSR	29,145	106	103.6
Ukrainian SSR	13,601	105	102.8
Belorussian SSR	3,164	104	102.3
Uzbek SSR	1,930	103	103.0
Kazakh SSR	2,549	108	106.0
Georgian SSR	1,188	102	107.5
Azerbaijan SSR	744	102	94.1
Lithuanian SSR	1,355	103	98.2
Moldavian SSR	1,049	107	100.0
Latvian SSR	1,077	106	102.5
Kirghiz SSR	573	106	110.7
Tajik SSR	414	103	103.5
Armenian SSR	346	106	79.2
Turkmen SSR	322	106	104.3
Estonian SSR	748	106	105.5

Production of **livestock products** on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises changed as follows: [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—Production January-June 1988; Column B—Production January-June 1989; Column C—1988 production as percentage of corresponding period in the previous year; Column D—1989 production as percentage of corresponding period in the previous year]:

	A	B	C	D
Meat (live weight), million tonnes	10.6	10.8	104	102
Milk, million tonnes	43.5	44.4	105	102
Eggs, billions	31.5	31.5	105	99.99

The increase in meat and milk production for the 1st half year in comparison with the same period last year stood at 211,000 tonnes and 851,000 tonnes respectively. This is clearly insufficient to expand food industry enterprises' production of basic foodstuffs. Meat production (sale) fell this year on farms in six union republics, including falls of 9 percent in the Latvian SSR, 6 percent in the Lithuanian SSR, 4 percent in the Tajik and Azerbaijan SSR's, and 2 percent in the Moldavian and Armenian SSR's. Milk production fell at livestock units in the Armenian SSR, the Estonian SSR, the Georgian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, and the Belorussian SSR. Cow productivity dropped in the Armenian SSR and the Estonian SSR.

For the country as a whole an average milk yield of 1,484 kg per cow was obtained at kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises in January-June, which is 35 kg more than the same period last year.

The headcount of livestock and poultry on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm was as follows (million head):

	As of 1 July	
	1988	1989
Cattle	97.5	95.8
of which, cows	28.8	28.6
Pigs	58.4	59.3
Sheep and goats	144.7	142.3
Poultry	789.8	789.2

There was virtually no increase in **purchases of livestock products** (on all categories of farms):

	1988	1989	1st 6 months of 1989 as a % of 1988
Livestock and poultry (live weight), million tonnes	11.1	11.2	101
Milk, million tonnes	38.8	39.3	101
Eggs, billions	30.0	29.2	97

In comparison with the 1st half year of 1988 sales of livestock and pouitry and sales of milk to the state were reduced by 22,000 (or 41 percent) and 21,000 (42 percent) farms respectively. Livestock and poultry sales to the state were reduced by 61 percent of farms in the Lithuanian SSR, 54 percent in the Latvian SSR, 50 percent in the Kirghiz SSR, and 46 percent in the Tajik SSR. Milk sales to the state fell at 63 percent of farms in the Estonian SSR, 54 percent in the Ukrainian SSR, 52 percent in Belorussian SSR, 50 percent in the Lithuanian SSR, and 48 percent in the Latvian SSR. Egg sales dropped at 75 percent of farms in the Kazakh SSR, 62 percent in the Tajik SSR, 52 percent in the Uzbek SSR, 50 percent in the RSFSR, and 49 percent in the Georgian SSR.

By 10 July 2.1 million tonnes of vegetables had been purchased, which represents 17,400 tonnes, or 0.8 percent, more than the same period last year.

Farms in nine union republics (in addition to the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, the Lithuanian SSR, the Moldavian SSR, and the Turkmen SSR) reduced their sales of vegetables to the state. The largest reductions were allowed to occur in the Georgian SSR—by a factor of 1.8, the Kazakh SSR—by a factor of 1.3, and the Uzbek SSR and the Tajik SSR—by a factor of 1.2. Some 411,000 tonnes of potatoes have been purchased against 595,000 tonnes for the same period in 1988. Some 96,000 tonnes of stone fruit (89,000 tonnes in 1988) have been purchased. The half-year plan for **deliveries to all-union stocks** of vegetables has been 108 percent fulfilled; the country's industrial centers have failed to receive 120,000 tonnes of potatoes and 13,000 tonnes of stone fruit.

Agricultural enterprises have completed sowing of spring crops and have resown winter crops on an area of 4.7 million hectares that perished during the fall-winter period. **Areas under crops** to be harvested in 1989 totaled 209.3 million hectares, including 112.9 million hectares of grain and pulse crops, of which wheat (winter and spring) represents 47.6 million hectares. Food grain crops cover an area of 63.3 million hectares (56 percent of the overall grain area), while feed grain crops cover an area of 43.5 million hectares (39 percent). Pulse crops cover 6.1 million hectares. Hay mowing and feed procurement are under way everywhere; the rates of work in many republics are lower than last year. By 3 July 24.1 million tonnes of feed calculated in feed units had been purchased, 2.82 quintals per standard head of cattle (last year by this date these figures were 23.9 million tonnes and 2.8 quintals respectively). Harvesting of grain crops is under way in many regions of the country.

In the first 6 months of the year agriculture was supplied with 155,000 tractors and 131,000 trucks, which is considerably lower than last year's level and lower than the number applied for by kolkhozes and sovkhozes, along with 37,000 grain harvesting, 18,000 silage harvesting and feed harvesting, and 2,700 potato harvesting combines, 2,800 self-propelled mowing machines and crushers, 30,600 windrow harvesters, 13,000 balers, ,700 sets of equipment for manufacturing loose feed. Mineral fertilizer deliveries stood at 13.9 million tonnes (100 percent nutrient equivalent) and dropped in comparison with the corresponding period last year by 486,000 tonnes. Contractual commitments as regards deliveries of disk harrows, tractor-drawn cultivators, corn harvesting combines, tractor-drawn mowers, sprinkling machines and apparatus, grain cleaners and other agricultural equipment to the agro-industrial complex have not been fulfilled.

More than R27 billion in **capital investments** have been utilized using all sources of financing to develop the agro-industrial complex (including sectors providing agriculture with means of production).

Capital investments in the development of the agricultural produce storage and processing base have increased. These funds totaled R2.2 billion in January-June this year against R1.9 billion utilized in the corresponding period last year. The state order list for the first half of this year included the commissioning of 40 facilities (including those carried over from 1988). Some 33 facilities were actually commissioned, of which 2 were commissioned ahead of schedule, counting toward the plan for the 2d half year. Capacities for the production of meat, whole-milk products, dried skimmed milk, whole milk substitutes, dried whey products, and confectionery increased, and elevators and mixed feed enterprises have been commissioned. However, construction of housing, schools, and children's preschool establishments in rural areas is proceeding at slower rates than last year. Targets for the construction of most important projects scheduled for commissioning in processing sectors of industry are being fulfilled unsatisfactorily in many republics, krays, and oblasts. All this has largely been brought about by poor supplies of construction materials and equipment. Priority has not as yet been established and maintained for processing sectors' construction facilities.

Capital Construction

The commissioning of **fixed capital** out of state centralized capital investments and enterprises' and organizations' own funds totaled only R48.9 billion or 26 percent of the annual target (in terms of the total plans of enterprises and organizations).

As in the past years, the commissioning program for the 1st half year was not fulfilled. Only 63 of the 98 state order projects due to be commissioned in the 1st half year, of which 62 were scheduled for completion last year, were commissioned. They include the seventh turbine at the Azerbaijan State Regional Electric Power Station [GRES], capacities for the casting of steel from continuous casting machines at the Cherpovets Metallurgical Combine, for the production of metal cutting machine tools at the Minsk machine tool building plant, elevators at the Samarkand Elevator Construction Plant, sulfuric acid at the Samarkand Chemical Plant, cement at the Navoi Cement Plant, ceramic sanitary goods at the Lobnya "Stroyfarfor" Plant in Moscow Oblast, and ready-made medicines at Gorkiy Chemical and Pharmaceutical Plant. Of nine state order projects scheduled for completion in the 1st half year and included in the plan for the first time, only a 159.5-km section of the 500 kilovolt Lugovaya-Nyagan intersystem power line (first phase) of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification was commissioned in January-June.

Moreover, 12 facilities from the 2d half-year plan have been commissioned ahead of schedule.

A total of R45 billion—or 44 percent of the annual quota—of state centralized **capital investments** were utilized in January-June. Enterprises from ministries within the metallurgical, machine building, chemical industry and timber complex, and construction complexes have assimilated approximately 30-40 percent of the annual quotas, while the fuel and energy complex has assimilated approximately half.

Enterprises and organizations have utilized R39.4 billion of their own funds, or 43 percent of the annual quota, on capital construction.

Investments financed by enterprises' and organizations' funds have increased while there has at the same time been a reduction in budgetary funds, which can be seen from the following figures: [In the following table figures are given for the 1st half year 1989 as a percentage of the 1st half year 1988 figures. Columns in the following table represent: Column A—capital investments by state enterprises and organizations; further broken down into Column B—state centralized investments—and Column C—investments using enterprises' and organizations' funds]

	A	B	C
Total for the national economy	103	87	132
Fuel and energy complex	97	88	122
Metallurgical complex	103	95	111
Machine building complex	106	108	104
Chemical-timber complex	99.96	82	109
Construction complex	122	103	151

The fragmentation of investment resources has not been overcome in 1989. There has been no reduction in the production construction front, 6 percent more construction projects than in 1988 have been included in the plan, and the number of new construction projects is approximately 25 percent up on the number of construction projects completed last year.

By 1 July the volume of unfinished construction work using state capital investments had reached R192.6 billion. It increased by 13 percent in comparison with the corresponding period last year and totaled 99.3 percent of the annual quota for state capital investments (88 percent in the 1st half of 1988). More than half this increase is attributable to construction using centralized funds.

The volume of contract work carried out by construction and installation organizations has risen by 0.3 percent, and **labor productivity** has risen by 3.7 percent. Most ministries and departments in the construction complex have been late in building facilities scheduled for completion.

Transport and Communications Freight shipments on transport in general use are characterized by the following figures:

	1st half of 1989 million tonnes	1st half of 1989 as % of 1st half 1988
All types of transport	6,402	99
of which:		
railroad transport	2,019	98
pipeline transport	626	101
maritime transport	125	96
internal water transport	287	104
motor transport	3,344	99
air transport	1.5	99

The freight shipment plan has been fulfilled 100.7 percent by railroad transport, 106.8 percent by internal water transport, 101.4 percent by motor transport, 106.5 percent by maritime transport, including 104.9 percent to areas of the Far North and equivalent regions, and 106.2 percent by maritime transport abroad. Freight shipment targets adopted by transport enterprises were below the level achieved in the corresponding period last year (excluding maritime shipments to the Far North and equivalent regions).

Eight railroads failed to meet freight shipment targets, including the Volga Railroad (5.4 percent), the Kemerovo Railroad (2.2 percent), the West Kazakhstan and Virgin Lands Railroads (1.5 percent), and the Lvov and Alma-Ata Railroads (0.8 percent); the same was true of motor transport enterprises in the Lithuanian SSR (0.9 percent), the Azerbaijan SSR (0.7 percent), and the RSFSR (0.3 percent).

Use of freightcars deteriorated on USSR Ministry of Railways railroad transport. Despite the fact that ministry and department consignor and consignee enterprises accelerated the processing of freightcars on their sidings by 0.1 hours on average in comparison with the same period last year, USSR Ministry of Railways freightcar turnaround time increased by 6 hours—15.4 hours on the Transcaucasus Railroad, 15.1 hours on the North Caucasus Railroad, 8.6 hours on the Transbaykal Railroad, and 7.4 hours on the Baltic Railroad.

Passenger turnover on transport in general use increased by 2.3 percent and totaled 536.5 billion passenger-km, including 0.3 percent and 237.7 billion passenger-km respectively for motor transport, 2.3 percent and 196.9 billion passenger-km for railroad transport, 7.6 percent and 99.2 billion passenger-km for air transport. Railroad and air transport fulfilled the plan by 102.8 percent and 104.7 percent respectively. Some 28 billion passengers, or 100.7 percent against January-June last year, were transported.

Schedules for the arrival of passenger rolling stock in general use at its final destination are still being violated: In January-May 6 percent of buses, 15.5 percent of aircraft and helicopters, 1.1 percent of river and lake vessels, and 12.4 percent of trains (excluding suburban trains) either failed to arrive owing to cancelations or arrived late.

Losses from traffic accidents are increasing. In the first 6 months of 1989 21,489 people died on the highways and streets in accidents involving automobiles, tractors, other motor vehicles, trolleybuses, and streetcars. Eight people died and losses totaled R2.1 million in accidents involving maritime transport in general use, and six people died and R91,100 were lost in accidents on the internal waterways (in the first 5 months of the year). In June a pipeline accident and explosion led to the catastrophe on a section of the Chelyabinsk-Ufa railroad, which resulted in hundreds of human casualties.

Communications enterprises rendered to the population services worth R1.9 billion, which is 9 percent more than during January-June last year. The plan has been 103.8 percent fulfilled.

Losses and thefts of mail and money in transit continued. They increased by 50 percent in the 1st half year of 1989 against the corresponding period last year and totaled R531,000; those attributable to communications enterprises increased by 50 percent and totaled R478,000.

The number of main telephones in general use 1 July rose by 1.1 million in comparison with 1 January 1989, totaling 31.3 million (98.2 percent of the figure for the corresponding period last year) and the plan for this indicator has been 122.5 percent fulfilled. As of 1 July there were 15.8 million outstanding applications for domestic telephone installation. The introduction of progressive communications systems is lagging behind contemporary demand: Fiber optic cable lines constitute 0.04 percent of the overall cable communication lines, and automatic lines represents 74.5 percent of the overall number of intercity lines; television stations have still not provided the entire population with an opportunity to receive telephone programs, and cable television is only in its infancy.

Foreign Economic Activity

In January-June the USSR's foreign economic activity was implemented within the framework of the substantial democratization and simplification of the procedure for enterprises, organizations, associations, and production cooperatives to trade on foreign markets. As of 1 July there were 5,000 participants in foreign economic relations registered in the country.

In the 1st half year the volume of export-import operations totaled R67.3 billion, export deliveries virtually remained at the level of the corresponding period last year and were estimated at R33.1 billion, while import deliveries were estimated at R34.2 billion, an increase of 2.3 percent.

During this period the balance of foreign trade operations with socialist countries and developed capitalist countries was negative.

The annual plans for the export and import of goods in the period January-June were 47 percent and 53 percent fulfilled respectively. The plan for imports of goods for freely convertible currency is being fulfilled at preferential rates in comparison with exports. Machinery and equipment output accounts for the greatest lag in the fulfillment of the annual plan for exports for freely convertible currency.

In January-June the national economy received by way of imports 38 million tonnes of grain, which represents an increase of 19 percent against the corresponding period last year, 306,000 tonnes of meat and meat products (1 percent), 159,000 tonnes of butter (700 percent), 515,000 tonnes of vegetable oil (20 percent), 9,000 tonnes of fish (100 percent), 36,000 tonnes of granulated coffee (47 percent), and 100,000 tonnes of tea (25 percent), while deliveries of cheese, eggs, and citrus fruits dropped.

New forms of cooperation with foreign countries in the form of direct ties between joint enterprises are still failing to substantially affect the development of foreign economic ties. Despite the increase in export-import operations within the framework of direct ties, the volume of these ties only totals 1.5 percent of the country's foreign trade turnover.

By 1 July 1989 some 680 joint enterprises created in the sphere of output production, services, research and development, and engineering had registered on the USSR's territory, 80 percent being with partners from capitalist countries.

Joint enterprises' exports mainly take the form of output from maritime industries and the timber and chemical industry, while imports consist of computer systems, equipment for the fish, food, and medical industries, and semimanufactures for footwear production.

Agricultural

Ligachev Evaluates Agricultural Production

LD0208234989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Report by correspondent Sinitsin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Sinitsin] In what town, on whose table will these fruits now ripening under the Volga southern sun, in the all Russian little kitchen garden, as they have called Astrakhan Oblast from time immemorial, lie? Quite recently specialists from Holland visited us. They took a look and said that we have fallen behind 30 years in the production of vegetables. Perhaps it is more difficult to grow vegetables than grain, especially if it is with manual labor and with a weak material and technical base. I asked Yegor Kuzmich his aim in coming here.

[Begin recording] [Ligachev] The thing is that Astrakhan Oblast, together with Krasnodar Kray, Rostov Oblast, Volgograd Oblast, Daghestan and Chechen-ingushetiya, comprise, figuratively speaking, our main south Russian kitchen garden. Approximately 40 percent of fruits and vegetables, to take the volume for the country as a whole, is produced here. As for the volume for tinned goods, almost one-half is produced here. We are very worried—this emerges from the decisions of the March plenum of the Central Committee—about the substantial losses; the greatest agricultural losses in our country are in the production of fruits and vegetables. The comrades think that the losses sometimes reach 30 percent. Therefore, tomorrow we intend to return, within the conference which we are holding here, as we did recently in the party Central Committee, to questions connected with the processing of vegetables, with lowering losses during production, harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing and marketing.

[Sinitsin] As a whole, what is the situation at the moment in the country's agriculture? The position?

[Ligachev] Briefly, unfortunately for the second year now we are working under drought conditions. Last year, although we did not discuss this widely, 51 percent of grain acreage was subjected to very severe drought. This year approximately one-third is subject to severe drought, and, moreover, according our calculations, approximately 45-50 million people live on that territory. In these regions—the Urals, West Siberia and Kazakhstan—there are very large centers of power engineering, the fuel industry, machine-building, and major scientific centers. As far as the European part of the country is concerned, here we have reaped a fantastic harvest. According to the data that we have at our disposal, supplies of threshed grain are higher than ever for this period, by 5-6 quintals. We are very happy with the harvest in Krasnodar Kray, Stavropol Kray, in Rostov Oblast, and Volgograd Oblast. Good harvests have grown in Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia.

A conference recently took place in the party Central Committee. The situation which has taken shape in the country was appraised there. Instructions have been given. The government and ministries are now working intensively in order to give material, technical, and financial assistance to those regions which have suffered badly from drought, and that assistance is already arriving. We have the possibility to both obtain as a whole on average, a sufficient harvest, and to provide livestock with fodder.

[Sinitsin] Thank you. [end recording]

Agricultural Developments for 29 Jul-2 Aug

LD0308023189

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 29 July - 2 Aug, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

29 July

Harvesting of winter grain is being completed in Saratov Oblast. Crop farmers of Sovetskiy, Krasnokutskiy, Engelskiy, and other rayons have received up to 25-30 quintals of winter rye and wheat per hectare. The oblast's graingrowers have already threshed 1 million tonnes of grain, but so far less than half have been dispatched to the elevators as there are insufficient means of transport. Enterprises from Saratov Oblast have assigned additional trucks for the transportation of of the grain. (1100)

30 July

Tambov Oblast farms have delivered to date 250,000 tonnes of grain. This is 25 percent of the overall order for grain sales to the state. On most of the sown area the crops have been flattened, and the harvest is being hampered by unstable weather. (0100)

Southern Uzbekistan has begun harvesting silage corn. Despite delays caused by bad weather, up to four quintals per hectare are being obtained in many places. (0204)

The grain harvest in Krasnodar Kray has ended everywhere except in the foothills of the Caucasus. The kray's contribution of grain to the state exceeded 2.5 million tonnes today, as measured from the start of the year.

In Stavropol Kray the annual target for grain harvesting has already been exceeded. a number of this kray's rayons have already fulfilled, or are close to fulfilling, the state order for the entire five-year grain harvest plan period. (2000)

31 July

Harvesting of flax has begun in Belorussia. (0000)

In North Ossetia, silage corn is being harvested. (0000)

Almost 400,000 tonnes of new harvest grain has reached reception points from the farms of Ryazan nonchernozem zone: more than 70 percent of the state order for sale of grain. (0204)

1.25 million tonnes of grain have been delivered to state elevators in Voronezh Oblast, and above-plan sales are in progress although crops have been flattened in places. Average yields are 25.5 quintals/hectare, which is up from last year. (1800)

1 August

Farmers of the Dneprpetrovsk Oblast are today finishing their harvest of early grain crops. For the first time the grain yield here is almost 36 quintals/hectare. Sale of grain to the state is continuing. (0400)

Farmers in Belgorod Oblast have stored 500,000 tonnes of grain in granaries. (1000)

2 August

Ukraine SSR: the state order for the sale of more than 10.5 million tonnes of wheat has been fulfilled; three quarters of it is made up of valuable and strong varieties; wheat and other grain sales are continuing; the only cause for concern is that in the southern oblasts of the republic some of the grain is being stored in the open air because of a lack of wagons for its dispatch. (0600)

Kalmyk ASSR: more than 200,000 tonnes of select grain, twice the annual plan, have been delivered to the state; three-quarters of the harvest is made up of wheat of strong and valuable varieties. (0900)

The harvesting of winter rye has started in Altay Kray. Rye is sown on almost 200,000 hectares, the greater part being sown to the low-growing Chulpan variety. (1100)

Orel has sent more than 50,000 tonnes of high quality wheat to drought-stricken Bashkiria. More than 600,000 tonnes of wheat, rye, barley, and other crops have already been delivered to the elevators and procurement points in the oblast, the plan being 500,000 tonnes. (1100)

Grain harvesting is at its height in the Mari nonchernozem zone. This year turned out to be an unfavorable one for spring crops. They have suffered as a result of drought, but the winter crops have ripened and are now yielding a good harvest. (1100)

In Kustanay Oblast, the largest of Kazakhstan's northern oblasts, the harvesting of perennial grasses for hay has been completed, and more than 1.6 million tonnes have been procured. The plan has been fulfilled. The haymaking is being completed in Tselinograd and Kokchetav Oblasts (1100)

Winter wheat and rye are yielding a good harvest in the Uralsk Oblast. The average grain yield is 1.5-2 quintals higher than planned, and that is in the conditions of a summer of scant rain. The threshing of winter crops is particularly considerable in the farms of the Dzhanibek and Urda Rayons. Quite a considerable role in this was played by the introduction of so-called dry farming, the expansion of the sowing of winter crops, of fallows, the strict observance of moisture-saving technologies. (1330)

Scientific

'Cosmos-2035' Launched Into Orbit 2 Aug

LD0308073489 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—A Soyuz carrier rocket put into orbit the Cosmos-2035 artificial earth satellite, the next in turn, in the Soviet Union on Wednesday.

Scientific instruments intended for the continuation of space exploration are installed on board the satellite.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parametres:
—initial period of revolution—88.8 minutes,
—maximum distance from the earth's surface (in the apogee)—268 kilometers,
—minimal distance from the earth's surface (in the perigee)—191 kilometers,
—inclination of the orbit—82.6 degrees.

Apart from scientific instruments, the satellite is fitted out with a radio system for an accurate measurement of elements of the orbit and a radiotelemetric system for beaming to the earth information on the functioning of the instruments.

The equipment installed on board the satellite functions normally.

The coordinating and computer centre is processing the incoming information.

Military

Admiral Panin Discusses Accidents, Social Issues

LD3007185589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1115 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Interview with Admiral Vasiliy Ivanovich Panin, Military Council member and chief of the Soviet Navy Political Directorate, on the occasion of USSR Navy Day, by an unidentified interviewer.]

[Text] [Interviewer] Vasiliy Ivanovich, today is Navy Day. For the fiftieth time the Soviet people are celebrating this holiday. Each year, I presume, is different. What is different about this holiday today?

[Panin] Today...you said correctly that, in a certain sense, it is the anniversary of the holiday. For the fiftieth time we are celebrating our country's Navy Day. I would like at the very beginning of our conversation to address congratulations on this holiday in the name of the Military Council, the Political Directorate and Fleet Admiral Chernavin, Vladimir Nikolayevich, commander-in-chief of the Navy, to all Navy personnel, to sailors, petty officers, warrant officers, officers, admirals and generals, members of their families, our glorious veterans of the armed services from the Great Patriotic War, those who in various years carried out difficult service in the Navy, and those who are in some way involved in the activity of the Navy, to wish them good health and success in their affairs, and to wish those who today are far from the Motherland, carrying out a military watch, successful execution of their responsible tasks, happy sailing and a safe return to their home base.

[Interviewer] Does it not seem to you, Vasiliy Ivanovich, that the holiday is suffused with some nuance of meditation and regret? Do you understand what I want to say and what I have in mind?

[Panin] Yes, unquestionably I understand what you want to say and ask me. There are various assessments and approaches. Well, on the one hand today is indubitably a holiday. There are successes in the Navy. We can say today that the Navy, carrying out tasks at different points of the world ocean, at different latitudes, in different cliamtic conditions...Incidentally, I must say here that the Navy is not, after all, in a one-dimensional space. Today it carries out its tasks on dry land, on water, underwater and in the air. From the point of view of the qualitative execution of tasks, we have a certain growth, with regard to the basic assessments of military and political preparation, with regard to firing exercises, shooting and training exercises. We are also carrying out long- distance cruising tasks with reasonable assessments.

[Interviewer] Recently the people have been very concerned about the accident rate.

[Panin] You have mentioned a very serious subject from the point of view of the reliability and safety of maritime navigation. This is a correct and justified question for today. But I will answer this question in the following manner. The safety of seafaring and the reliability our ships, weapons, and hardware is determined by the capabilities of the scientific technical potential of our defense industry on one hand, and on the other hand by the professional preparedness of personnel—its competence, its discipline, organization, and order. So in this respect there are two aspects here: the reliability of our equipment and ships, and the safety of seafaring.

[Interviewer] And the reliability of people.

[Panin] And the reliability of people.

[Interviewer] Tell me, are there, nevertheless, minuses in both areas today?

[Panin] Given that certain events are taking place here, about which the whole country now knows—I mean the tragedy in the area of Bear Island with our atomic submarine Komsomolets. That is, there are questions here. Now, a government commission with competent members is ending its assessments and conclusions on the causes of what happened, and I must say here in all honesty that the Navy, more than anyone else, more than any other department, is concerned with objective, honest assessments of everything which happened. Our ships continue to sail. Submarines are carrying out arctic voyages, amongst others, and are carrying out tasks at various depths and at various latitudes. We cannot allow even the thought that such a tragedy could some time repeat itself. We cannot even imagine something similar which would place our personnel in a difficult position. And here I must immediately say: There is very great pain among Navy personnel. The people who perished acted very honorably as sailors of the Navy. I would say that these were people of epic spirit, epic spirit. By their courage and their sacrifices in carrying out tasks in extreme, essentially irreparable, conditions, they gave an example to posterity of execution of martial duty.

[Interviewer] Could you tell us please if there are any situations in which a submarine or any other vessel might be carrying out a task during which, even in a state of emergency, they are not permitted to reveal themselves?

[Panin] Well, in peaceful circumstances—and we are now in peacetime—nothing can place a crew in such circumstances that they have to risk or sacrifice their lives in fulfilment of some task. In peacetime there are no tasks that might place a crew in such circumstances that they have to carry out their military duty at the cost of their lives. I admit—and this is something you well know—that there always have been, is, and will remain an element of risk in naval service. There's no getting away from this; it is natural. But if this element of risk cannot be removed, the Naval Command, commanders, political bodies, staffs, and indeed the entire personnel must at least do everything—and incidentally, they are capable of this—to reduce this risk to a minimum.

[Interviewer] But human reliability depends not only on these, let's say, physical parameters—is everything in order in the Navy as regards the social and domestic basis? People go off on voyages lasting many months—do they feel at ease within themselves regarding those who remain on shore? How do they live, in what conditions?

[Panin] I think we've already mentioned that reliability is determined both by technology and people. As far as technology is concerned, from the planning work to its construction and operation—and it is the personnel, first and foremost, who operate it—it depends on the reliability and the successful fulfilment of tasks and on life in the Navy as a whole. You brought up the human factor. I have to say quite definitely that the Navy is operating in a perfectly reliable and skilled manner our military technology, the product of designers' minds and workers' reliable hands. The young people now joining the ships are fully trained for fulfilling their military duties in the ranks of the Navy. They develop into highly-qualified specialists; we have a large percentage of high-class specialists, including people who graduated from city vocational training schools and received secondary or secondary-technical education—we have quite a high level of education. And I have to mention that within naval ranks during the fulfilment of tasks at sea, the personnel completely and utterly dedicate themselves to that fulfilment without sparing themselves, and it seems to us that the people joining us on the ships have a fairly high degree of labor training. If one is to judge by professional qualities, of course, the 3-year length of service is probably the very minimum period needed for our young people both to learn about warfare properly, as we say, and to operate the ships skillfully.

A problem has now cropped up that arose in connection with the decision to release students who were on full time courses in higher educational establishments from the ranks of the Armed Forces. It's not an easy problem. We understand it, the law is the law, as they say, and it must be fulfilled. But what's actually happening here? As a rule, students form the main backbone of the Navy's junior officers—combat post commanders, section commanders and most of the leading specialists—and it will not be very easy to replace them. Also, from the point of view of the moral and ethical atmosphere, we considered them—and correctly so—to be a definite tuning-fork for the moral and ethical atmosphere in military collectives. In carrying out the law we shall have to take all this into account, but to come back to what I was saying earlier, we are transferring this duty to hands that are fully trained within the personnel system.

If I were to end here, I probably would not be expressing myself fully. Problems do, of course, remain regarding preparation for service in the Navy and even before they are called up to the Navy. We can see these problems and our command-political personnel are having to make considerable effort to prepare them for service in good time. So that's looking at it from this point of view, from the point of view of the personnel's professional training, but we touched on a broader issue—that of our sailors' social living conditions. Yes, it is true, military service is difficult and carries responsibilities; and since I was talking about risk, it is also dangerous to a certain extent. The social sphere, which determines attitudes towards military service, is a problem which needs to be solved on an extraordinary basis.

What I mean by this is the following. As you know, the Navy is, in general, situated in regions of our country with, well, poor social provision—the Arctic, the Far East, the periphery—and the most acute problem faced by officers, their families, naval warrant officers and ensigns is housing. This is a problem for our whole country and there has been a decision to provide, by the year 2000....

[Interviewer, interrupting] (?Housing) for the wives.

[Panin] ...(?housing) for the wives, of course....

[Interview] And kindergartens.

[Panin] ...and kindergartens. Part of the social infrastructure, let's put it that way. Naval officers wait a very long time to legitimately receive housing—between 4 and 8 years. For that reason the Military Council and the commanders-in-chief have adopted a decision to seriously put this problem right. We are already directing up to 40 percent of investment to the housing question, and we think that for categories of officers and warrant officers that make up the main backbone of the Navy and carry out the toughest duties—like the sailing personnel and aircrews—we should solve this problem more quickly, without, of course, waiting until the year 2000.

The Navy will soon celebrate 300 years of service to the fatherland. That will be in 1996. The Navy has always honored and based itself upon its traditions, and considered them as steps in its professional, moral and ethical growth on the path of honest service to the fatherland and its people. Of course, everything that was built up in our Navy before the revolution too—the good and positive from the point of view of ethics, combat use...the ethics of human relations, combat use of the fleet—are tremendous riches of ours and we cannot destroy...it's simply impossible to destroy what has been created. But how can one pass over the foundations on which we now stand, the relations, the heroic feat of our sailors during the Great Fatherland War: The Navy today does not exist by itself on its own independent assessments. But what I'm trying to say is that we feed on the traditions not only of the Navy, but of all the Armed Forces, of our people and our party, and this unquestionably forms the basis of our new undertakings. We could probably say that old glory loves the new, and for that reason today's deeds in peacetime, given the heroic history of our past, should be multiplied by our Navy's combat affairs and successes in today's circumstances. I would like to say with all frankness and responsibility that for as long as the Navy exists, its sailors, in fulfilling their tasks, will always remain faithful to their main tradition of guarding their fatherland and being faithful to their people and the party. The Navy will remain true to this until the end.

Makarov Discusses 'Present State of Navy'

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[Excerpts] On the last Sunday of July Navy Day is celebrated in the Soviet Union; it has been commemorated since 1939. Nowadays the Soviet Union is regarded as a great naval power. We offer our microphones to Konstantin Makarov, first deputy commander in chief of the Soviet Navy and Soviet Navy chief of staff. First he will refer to the present state of the Soviet Navy.

[Begin recording] [Makarov in Russian fading to superimposed Spanish translation] [Passage omitted] We have been obliged to maintain our fleet in high combat readiness. The Western side at the table of the disarmament talks attempts to evade at any price discussion about precisely this kind of armament.

[Correspondent] What truth is there in the report about the USSR having withdrawn all its submarines from the waters bordering on Western Europe and the United States?

[Makarov] This report accurately describes the current trend although at present it does not totally correspond with reality. Now, thanks to the observance of the treaty on medium- and short-range missiles, the threat to the Soviet Union has decreased and this has allowed us to reduce substantially the number of submarines in the adjoining regions, both in oceans and seas. The trend to reduce the presence and activity of the Soviet Navy fleet in every sense has been applied to practically every oceanic region. Our interest in the reductions of naval activity by both sides refers totally to the Pacific and Indian Oceans and the Mediterranean Sea. Unfortunately the NATO countries, which have a naval superiority which they apparently wish to continue to maintain, at present reject even the very possibility of a dialogue in this area. However, in our view, it will be difficult for them to evade examination and solution of this problem because it is only possible to avoid a further spiral in the naval arms race by means of measures agreed to in talks.

[Correspondent] A final question: How do you see the future of Soviet naval forces?

[Makarov] For the present our country needs a powerful navy. In my personal opinion this will be a fleet which will guarantee our country's security in face of a real threat coming from oceans and seas.